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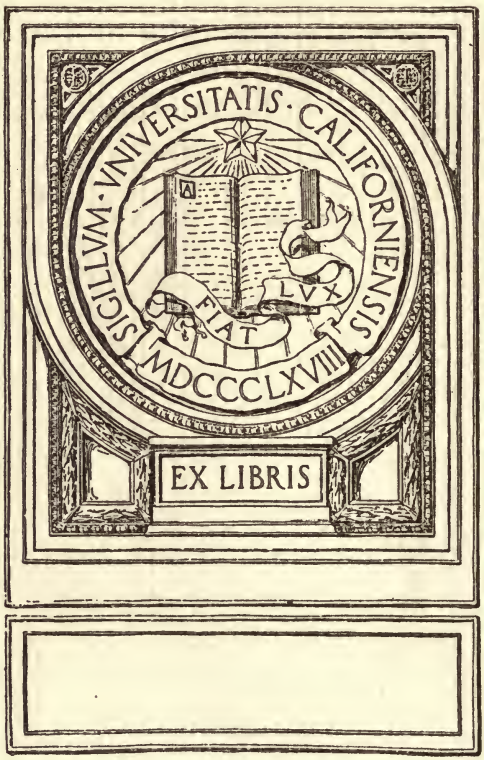
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THE RIGHTS OF GREAT BRITAIN ASSERTED AGAINST THE CLAIMS OF AMERICA.

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THE RIGHTS OF GREAT BRITAIN ASSERTED AGAINST THE CLAIMS OF AMERICA: BEING AN ANSWER TO THE DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL CONGRESS.

(Jas Macpherson)

THE THIRD EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

LONDON:
Printed for T. CADELL, in the Strand.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE materials upon which the following Pamphlet is formed, were derived from the beſt and moſt inconteſtible authorities. The Author had acceſs to original papers, accurate eſtimates, and authentic diſpatches. He has alſo availed himſelf of the records of both Houſes of Parliament; and he has made it his buſineſs to examine, with attention, ſuch printed tracts as might contribute to throw any light on the ſubject. Upon the whole, more labour and time have been employed on this ſhort diſquiſition, than are generally beſtowed upon fugitive Publications of the ſame kind. The deſign of the Writer has been to extricate the conteſt now ſubſiſting between Great-Britain and her Colonies, from the errors of the ignorant, and the miſrepreſentations of deſigning men. As he has rigidly adhered to truth throughout, and to ſuch arguments as naturally ariſe from undoubted facts, he hopes he has attained his object.

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AN

ANSWER

TO THE

DECLARATION

OF THE

GENERAL CONGRESS.

WHEN Independent States take up arms, they endeavour to impreſs the World with a favourable opinion of their own cauſe, and to lay the blame of hoſtilities on the injuſtice of their Opponents. But if Nations, accountable to none for their conduct, deem it neceſſary to reconcile others to their proceedings, the neceſſity is ſtill more urgent with regard to thoſe who, breaking through every political duty, draw their ſwords againſt the State of which they own themſelves the Subjects. The opinions of mankind are invariably oppoſed to ſuch men. Their aſſertions are heard with diſtruſt, their arguments

weighed with caution; and, therefore, it is as neceſſary for THEM to adhere to truth, in the former, as it is prudent to avoid ſophiſtry in the latter.

This conſideration, however obvious it may appear to others, ſeems to have totally eſcaped the attention of the body of men who lately ſat at Philadelphia under the name of "The General "American Congreſs." In a paper publiſhed under the title of "A DECLARATION by the Re-"preſentatives of the United Colonies of North "America" *, the facts are either wilfully or ignorantly miſrepreſented; and the arguments deduced from premiſes that have no foundation in truth. But, as whatever falls from men who call themſelves the Repreſentatives of a People, muſt fall with ſome degree of weight on the minds of the undiſcerning part of mankind; it becomes, in ſome meaſure, neceſſary to examine briefly the reaſons held forth by the Congreſs to juſtify the rebellion of their Conſtituents. On a ſubject ſo trite, arguments advanced by other Writers may ſometimes recur; but novelty is leſs the object of this part of the diſquiſition, than perſpicuity and preciſion.

The Declaration of the Congreſs begins with an involved period, which either contains no meaning, or a meaning not founded on the prin-

* Vide Appendix.

ciples

ciples of reaſon. They ſeem to inſinuate, that no body of men, in any Empire, can exerciſe "an "unbounded authority over others;" an opinion contrary to fact under every form of Government. No maxim in policy is more univerſally admitted, than that a ſupreme and uncontroulable power muſt exiſt ſomewhere in every State. This ultimate power, though juſtly dreaded and reprobated in the perſon of ONE MAN, is the firſt ſpring in every Political Society. The great difference, between the degrees of freedom in various Governments, conſiſts merely in the manner of placing this neceſſary diſcretionary power. In the Britiſh Empire it is veſted, where it is moſt ſafe, in King, Lords, and Commons, under the collective appellation of the Legiſlature. The Legiſlature is another name for the Conſtitution of the State; and, in fact, the State itſelf. The Americans ſtill own themſelves the ſubjects of the State; but if they refuſe obedience to the laws of the Legiſlature, they play upon words, and are no longer Subjects, but Rebels. In vain have they affirmed that they are the Subjects of the King's prerogative, and not his Subjects in his legiſlative quality; as the King, with regard to his Subjects in general, is to be conſidered only in his executive capacity as the great hereditary Magiſtrate, who carries into effect the laws of the Legiſlature, the

only diſcretionary and uncontroulable power in a free State.

The diſcretionary and uncontroulable authority of the Britiſh Legiſlature being granted, their right to tax all the Subjects of the Britiſh Empire can never be denied. Some ill-informed reaſoners in politics have lately ſtarted an obſolete maxim, which has been ſeized with avidity by the Americans, That "the Supreme Power cannot take "from any one any part of his property without "his conſent;" or in other words, That Repreſentation is inſeparable from Taxation. The Coloniſts, ſay they, have no Repreſentatives in Parliament, and therefore Parliament has no right to tax the Coloniſts. Upon this principle, ſcarce one in twenty-five of the people of Great-Britain is repreſented. Out of more than ſeven millions, fewer than three hundred thouſand have an excluſive right to chuſe Members of Parliament; and, therefore, more than three times the number of the Americans have an equal right with them to diſpute the authority of the Legiſlature to ſubject them to taxes. The truth is, Repreſentation never accompanied Taxation in any State. The Romans were a free nation; yet the Senate, that is, the great body of the Nobility, poſſeſſed the ſole right of taxing the people. In this kingdom, the

Houſe

Houſe of Commons have an excluſive right of modifying and regulating the quantity of public ſupplies, and the manner of laying taxes: but the Commons, by their own authority, cannot enforce the raiſing the ſupplies they vote. That privilege is inherent in the ſupreme and unaccountable power veſted in the three branches of the Legiſlature united; who are in fact the State, as the virtual Repreſentatives of the whole Empire, and not the delegates of individuals.

Why it has been ſo generally received as a maxim, in this country, That Taxation and Repreſentation are inſeparable, requires to be explained. Men, little acquainted with the Conſtitution, derived the opinion from their finding, that it is the indiſputable right of the Commons, that all grants of ſubſidies and parliamentary aids ſhould originate in their Houſe. But though they firſt beſtow thoſe ſubſidies and aids, their grants, as has been already obſerved, have no effect without the aſſent of the other two branches of the Legiſlature. The common reaſon given for this excluſive privilege is, That as the ſupplies are raiſed upon the body of the people, the people only ought to have the right of taxing themſelves. This argument would have been concluſive, if the Commons taxed none but thoſe by whoſe

whoſe ſuffrages they obtained their ſeats in Parliament. But it has appeared, that more than ſeven millions of people, beſides the Peers, who are in poſſeſſion of ſo large a ſhare of property in the kingdom, have no voice in the election of the Members who ſit in the Lower Houſe. The Commons, therefore, and their Conſtituents not being the *only* perſons taxed, the former cannot poſſibly have the *only* right of raiſing and modelling the ſupply, from the mere circumſtance of Repreſentation. But if they have it not from Repreſentation, they muſt in fact derive it from the ſupreme and diſcretionary power, which is repoſed in them, in conjunction with the two other branches of the Legiſlature. It appears, upon the whole, that Taxation is the reſult of the diſcretionary power which is placed in the hands of the Legiſlature, and exerted by them for the neceſſary ſupport of the State. To this power the whole Empire muſt ſubmit, and conſequently no one of its ſubjects can claim any exemption.

The Counties Palatine of Cheſter, Durham, and Lancaſter, were anciently in the ſame predicament with the Americans, on the article of Taxation. The Earl of Cheſter and the Biſhop of Durham became, by preſcription and immemorial cuſtom, poſſeſſed of a kind of regal

regal jurisdiction, within their respective territories. A similar form of Government was established by King Edward III. in the County of Lancaster; which was erected first into an Earldom, and then into a Dukedom, in the person of Henry Plantagenet; whose heiress carried the same rights and privileges to John of Gant, that King's fourth son, and his posterity. But though the SUBORDINATE SOVEREIGNS of these Counties could pardon treasons, murders and felonies; though they appointed all Judges, nominated all Justices of the Peace, and, in short, possessed exclusively the whole internal Government of their several Counties; their SUBJECTS (if the expression may be used) were "always bound by the Acts and Statutes" * of an Assembly, in which they had no Representatives. They were also "liable to all payments, rates, and "subsidies, granted by the Parliament of Eng-"land" †.

Those Counties (it must be confessed), like the Americans, considered their being excluded from having Representatives in an Assembly by which they were taxed, a grievance. Accordingly, the

* Statutes at Large, 34 and 35 of Henry VIII. c. 13.

† Ibid. 25 of Charles II. c. 9.

Town

Town and County of Cheſter, as far back as the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII. petitioned the Legiſlature for the privilege of ſending Members to Parliament; and their requeſt was granted by an expreſs Statute *. The County and City of Durham made a ſimilar application, and with the ſame ſucceſs, in the twenty-fifth of Charles II †. Had the Americans, inſtead of flying to arms, ſubmitted the ſame ſuppoſed grievance, in a peaceable and dutiful manner, to the Legiſlature, I can perceive no reaſon why their requeſt ſhould be refuſed. Had they, like the County and City of Cheſter, repreſented, that "for lack of Knights and Burgeſſes to repreſent them in the High Court of "Parliament, they had been oftentimes TOUCHED "and GRIEVED with Acts and Statutes made with-"in the ſaid Court, derogatory to their moſt an-"cient juriſdictions, liberties and privileges, and "prejudicial to their quietneſs, reſt and peace;" this Country would, I am perſuaded, have no objection to their being repreſented in her Parliament.

But the Colonies, though that circumſtance is only inſinuated in the Declaration, have uniformly affirmed, that granting the ſupremacy of Parlia-

* 34 and 35 of Henry VIII. c. 13.

† 25 of Charles II. c. 9,

ment

ment ſhould extend over the whole Empire, yet that they themſelves have a right to an exemption from Taxes either by the conceſſions of the Legiſlature, or by charters from the King. It ſeems incompatible with reaſon, ſay they, that the Colonies ſhould have internal Legiſlatures of their own, poſſeſſing the authority of taxation, and that, notwithſtanding, the Britiſh Parliament ſhould retain its power of laying impoſts. The firſt of theſe aſſertions is not founded in truth. The Charters give no exemption from Taxation: on the contrary, ſome of them, for inſtance the Charter of Pennſylvania, expreſsly ſubjects the inhabitants of that Province to the payment of "ſuch "taxes as were then (in 1680) laid, or ſhould "thereafter be laid on America, by the Par-"liament of England." But had the Charters mentioned an exemption, the Legiſlature, by virtue of its ſupreme, univerſal, and diſcretionary power, can recal any rights they have conferred, when the good of the State renders that meaſure neceſſary. Though the King may give away by Charter a right that militates againſt himſelf, as hereditary Chief Magiſtrate, he cannot authorize, by any deed whatever, an exemption from the general laws of the State. In ſuch a caſe ONE of the THREE branches of the Legiſlature would uſurp the power of the THREE UNITED; a

ſoleciſm as great in polity, as it is in mathematicks to affirm, that a part is greater than the whole.

It may be neceſſary, perhaps, to make an apology for entering ſo minutely into the argument in favour of the right of Taxation. The Americans themſelves have deſerted that ground. They ſpeak no longer as ſubjects. They aſſume the language of rivals, and they act as enemies. The queſtion between them and Great-Britain (for it is no longer between them and Government) conſiſts of dependence or independence, connection or no connection, except on the footing of a Sovereign State. They have already arrogated to themſelves all the functions of Sovereignty. They have formed a great deliberative Council. They have taken the whole executive power into their own hands. They have ſtruck a new currency, raiſed armies, appointed generals; and that they have not choſen ANOTHER SOVEREIGN, muſt be aſcribed more to their Republican principles, than to any remains of loyalty for their lawful Prince.

In this ſituation of affairs and opinions, it is matter of little ſurprize, that men who deny the authority of the State ſhould load the Legiſlature with opprobrious epithets. The Congreſs accordingly ſtigmatize Parliament with various charges of tyranny,

tyranny, violence, and oppreſſion. Paſſing from this ſtrain of general ſcurrility, they enter into warm encomiums on the anceſtors of their Conſtituents. But they now deviate as much from truth in their applauſe, as they had done before in their cenſure. They affirm, that the anceſtors of the Coloniſts obtained the lands which they have tranſmitted to the preſent race, "without any charge "to the country from which they removed." Their very enemies could not wiſh to meet them on more advantageous ground. The ſums expended upon the various Provinces, ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment, for their ordinary ſupport, government, and protection, have been ſo enormous, that without the authority of inconteſtible vouchers, they could ſcarcely obtain credit *.

* *An Account of what Sums have been granted to the different Provinces in* North America, *as far as it appears from the Eſtimates for the ſupport of the Civil Government of each Province; and alſo what Sums have been granted for the Support of the Provincial Forces in* North America.

	£.	s.	d.
New York Forces	339,055	16	8
Carolina in general	43,024	9	10½
Georgia ſettling, and ſecuring that Province	250,853	4	6
——— Military Expence of ditto	130,066	18	4½
South Carolina Forces	101,524	5	6
Nova Scotia Civil Government	1,358,240	17	6½
Eaſt Florida Civil Government	59,300	0	0
Weſt Florida Civil Government	64,324	13	6
America in general forces	172,999	0	0
Rewards and compenſations	1,316,511	1	5
	3,835,900	7	4½

But, even granting that the Coloniſts had obtained their lands without any charge to the Mother-country, were they capable of keeping thoſe lands without her aſſiſtance? Was it not to defend the Americans, that Great-Britain involved herſelf in the laſt expenſive war? Did not thoſe very "United Provinces," who now pretend to ſet the power of this Kingdom at defiance, lay themſelves in the duſt at her feet, to claim her aid and protection againſt a SINGLE Colony? Did they not complain in the ſame abject terms with the Britons of old, "That the Barbarians drove "them into the ſea, and that the ſea drove them "back on the Barbarians?" Did not Great-Britain, like a Guardian Angel, ſtretch forth her hand to their aid; and, by expelling their enemies from the Continent of America, reſcue them, not only from danger, but the very fear of danger? Did ſhe not, over and above the many millions ſhe expended upon the fleets and armies employed in defence of the Colonies, advance more than ONE MILLION to pay THEIR own native forces, employed in THEIR own Cauſe †?

† GRANTS *in* PARLIAMENT *for Rewards, Encouragement, and Indemnification to the Provinces in* North America *for their Services and Expences during the laſt War.*

Date of Votes.	
3 Febr. 1756.	As a free Gift and Reward to the Colonies of New-England, New-York, and Jerſey, for their paſt ſervices,

and

Did not the Mother-country, with more than a mother's fondneſs, upon all occaſions nouriſh, che-

riſh,

Date of Votes.		£.	s.	d.
3 Febr. 1756.	and as an encouragement to them to continue to exert themſelves with vigour, &c.	115,000	—	—
19 May, 1757.	For the uſe and relief of the Provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia, in recompence for ſervices performed and to be performed with the approbation of the Commander in Chief in America, - - - - -	50,000	—	-
1 June, 1758.	To reimburſe the Province of Maſſachuſet's Bay their expences in furniſhing proviſions and ſtores to the troops raiſed by them in 1756, £. 27,380 19 11½			
	To reimburſe the Province of Connecticut their expences for ditto, £. 13,736 17 7	41,117	17	6½
30 Apr. 1759.	As a compenſation to the reſpective Colonies in North America for the expence of levying, cloathing and pay of the troops raiſed by them, &c.	200,000	—	--
31 Mar. 1760.	Ditto, - - -	200,000	—	--
	To the Colony of New York to reimburſe their expences in furniſhing proviſions and ſtores to the troops raiſed by them in 1756 - -	2,977	7	8
		609,095	5	2½

riſh, and ſupport this prodigal child, that left the houſe of his parent, "to feed on huſks, "with the ſwine of the deſart?" Has ſhe not (to ſum up the whole in one point of view) uniformly protected the Colonies in war, encouraged their produce with bounties in time of peace ‡, entered into

		£.	s.	d.
	Brought over,	609,095	5	2½
20 Jan. 1761.	As a Compenſation to the reſpective Colonies in North America, for the expence of levying, cloathing, and pay of the troops raiſed by them, &c.	200,000	—	-
26 Jan. 1762.	Ditto, - - - - -	133,333	6	8
15 Mar. 1763.	Ditto, - - - - -	133,333	6	8
22 Apr. 1770.	To reimburſe the Province of New Hampſhire their expences in furniſhing proviſions and ſtores to the troops raiſed by them for the Campaign in 1756 - - -	6,009	13	3
		1,081,771	11	9½

‡ *An Account of Bounties on* American *Commodities.*

	£.	s.	d.
Bounty on Indico from 1749 to 1773 paid by Great Britain - - - - -	145,022	3	4½
Bounty on Hemp and Flax paid under the Act of 4 Geo. III. ch. 26. from 1766 to 1772 - - - - - -	5,560	8	7¾
Bounty on Importation of Naval Stores from America, purſuant to the Act of the 3d of Queen Anne, from 1706 to 1729	430,178	4	6
Under the Act of 2d Geo. II. from 1729 to 1774 - - - - - -	1,028,584	7	3

Beſides other Bounties granted on
Raw Silk
Pipe Staves
Hogſhead Staves
Barrel Staves
Pipe, Hogſhead, or Barrel-Heading.

into all their quarrels with their neighbours, made their enemies her own; and, for their ſake, has ſhe not, in ſome degree, ſubjected herſelf to an annual tribute to Indian ſavages, in whom habitual injuries had raiſed an irreconcileable hatred to their oppreſſors? Did ſhe not, too fatally, relinquiſh great advantages on every other ſide of a ſucceſsful war, to eradicate the very ſeeds of future conteſts in America; and, by giving the Colonies unlimited ſecurity from ABROAD, procure for them that proſperity at HOME, which has encouraged them, like parricides, to raiſe the dagger againſt her own breaſt?

The Congreſs, in the next paragraph of their Declaration, affect to reprobate the laſt Peace, though they have derived ſo many and ſo great advantages from that treaty. The conduct of the Americans ought alſo to induce this Kingdom to regret the ſtipulations ſhe made for their ſecurity. Had Canada remained in the hands of the French, the Colonies would have remained dutiful ſubjects. Their fears for themſelves, in that caſe, would have ſupplied the place of their pretended affection for this Nation. They would have ſpoken more ſparingly of their own reſources, as they might daily ſtand in need of our aid. Their former incapacity of defending themſelves would have always recurred to their minds, as

long

long as the objects of their former terror ſhould continue ſo near their borders. But their habitual fears from France were, it ſeems, removed only to give room to their ingratitude to Great-Britain.

The effrontery with which the Congreſs reprobate the late Peace, is ſcarcely equal to their folly in applauding the Miniſter who had carried on the war. With peculiar inconſiſtency they affect to commence an æra of "Public Ruin," from Mr. Pitt's reſignation in 1761; yet the whole "object of their wiſhes" is to be placed on the ſame footing as in the year 1763. They do not recollect, or rather they pretend to forget, that the moſt ſplendid actions in the war, happened after Mr. Pitt retired from his office. They are ignorant, or deſignedly conceal, that the commerce of this kingdom has amazingly encreaſed, and, in conſequence, its revenue, ſince the æra from which they date public ruin. They know, or they ought, from their own experience, to know, that notwithſtanding their ſhutting their ports againſt our manufactures, permanent and profitable ſources of commerce have been opened in other quarters; that inſtead of being diſtreſſed by their preſent interruption to trade, our Merchants find themſelves incapable of fulfilling their commiſſions from foreign ſtates; that as

the

the ſureſt teſt of the flouriſhing condition of commerce, the courſe of exchange, to the amount of ſeveral per cents. is univerſally in favour of Great-Britain; and that, as the ultimate and invincible proof of the public proſperity, the confidence of the people in the meaſures of Government, and their contempt for the rebellious efforts of the refractory Colonies, the national Stocks ſuffer neither fluctuation nor fall in the price.

Having repreſented the pretended ruin brought upon the Britiſh Empire by the late Peace, the Congreſs deſcend to the fictitious grievances of America ſince the ſame period. They affirm, that "the Colonies were judged to be in ſuch a "ſtate, as to preſent victories without bloodſhed, "and all the eaſy emoluments of ſtatutable "plunder." This figure of rhetoric, if it has any meaning, conveys one contrary to the truth. The Coloniſts having obtained ſuch amazing advantages by a Peace, which they now reprobate, it was deemed juſt and proper by Mr. Grenville, then at the head of the Treaſury, that they ſhould bear a proportionable ſhare of the national burdens incurred by the war. But as their prior inability to bear internal Taxes had precluded him from having a precedent, he only *threw out*, as it is vulgarly expreſſed, in the beginning of the year 1764, his intentions of raiſing a revenue in America

by a Stamp-Duty, ſimilar to that eſtabliſhed in Great-Britain; referring the conſideration of the whole affair to the next Seſſion. His object was, to give time to the Colonies to propoſe ſome other mode of Taxation, ſhould that ſuggeſted to Parliament appear either improper or burdenſome. During the whole of the ſummer 1764, though ſome diſcontented ſpirits murmured, not a ſingle doubt was ſtarted againſt the ABSOLUTE RIGHT of Parliament to impoſe Taxes on every Member of the Britiſh Empire. The time allowed to the Colonies furniſhed them with no expedient for raiſing a tax more ſuitable to the purpoſe of a Revenue (which, by the bye, was to have been ſpent among themſelves); and, therefore, in the beginning of the year 1765, the famous Stamp-Act was paſſed, againſt a very inconſiderable Minority, in both Houſes of Parliament.

In this Kingdom, as well as in every State poſſeſſed of freedom, there are always to be found factious perſons, who oppoſe every meaſure of Government. In their eagerneſs to diſgrace the Miniſter, they too frequently obſtruct the ſervice, and defeat the intereſts of their Country. Every ſide of a ſpeculative point is armed with arguments, that may impoſe on the ignorant, and encourage the ſanguine. The Oppoſition in Parliament, in ſhort, committed themſelves too far in favour of the prejudices of the Americans, with

regard

regard to the Stamp-Act, to support it with vigour, when they themselves, very unexpectedly *, came into Office, a few months after it had passed into Law. Though their view of the object changed with their elevation, they found that the flame which their own factious speeches, in the preceding Session, had raised in America, was too vehement to be extinguished without either force or concessions. A natural timidity of disposition, joined to the common want of firmness which accompanies novelty in Office, rendered them inclinable to purchase present quiet for themselves, at the expence of the future advantage of their Country. But still they wavered on the point of irresolution, till Mr. Pitt's oratory weighed down the scale. The Stamp-Act was repealed; and from that moment may be dated "the commencement of" what the Americans call "an Æra of Public "Ruin."

Great Britain and her Colonies derive their present dispute, and its consequent misfortunes, from the PATRIOTISM of the motley Junto who formed the appearance of an Administration, in the end of

* Lord Rockingham and others in Opposition came into office July 10, 1765, Grenville and his party having thrown themselves out of place on the Regency Bill.

1765 and beginning of 1766. Virginia had the MERIT of taking the lead in the disturbances in America, which succeeded the passing of the Stamp-Act. It was in the Assembly of that Province, that the first Resolutions were voted against the authority of Parliament, in the first Session, after intelligence of the Act was received. Though the meeting was very thin, the Resolutions passed only by a majority of TWO VOTES; and they would have been most certainly rejected, had it not been for the absence of forty of the old Members. When the Assembly was adjourned for the season, the people in general were dissatisfied with the conduct of their representatives. Every one expected, that, at the next meeting, an attempt would be made to eraze the Resolutions from the Journals. But intelligence arrived, in the mean time, that the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Camden, General Conway, and the rest of the "illustrious Band" who had opposed the Stamp-Act in Parliament, were, by a strange revolution in politics, received into favour, and raised to office; and that Mr. Pitt, then at variance with his wife's relations, was resolved to oppose their FAVOURITE MEASURE, the Stamp-Act. The Virginians, deriving great hopes from this change, adhered to their Resolutions; and nothing further was done in the matter.

To

To enter minutely into the various motives of Mr. Pitt's oratory, for the total and abſolute repeal of the Stamp-Act, would be to deſert a great and public ſubject for the ſake of tracing the private paſſions and intereſted views of an ambitious man. In his Argument, if what he advanced deſerves the name, he fell in with the vulgar and, it may be ſaid, falſe maxim, That no profit ought to be expected from the Colonies, but That reſulting from their Commerce. This opinion of Mr. Pitt, whether it proceeded from ignorance or deſign (and it probably proceeded from both), has formed a popular error in former times, as well as in the preſent age. Many, who have pretended to underſtand perfectly the affairs of this Kingdom, moſt firmly, but in my opinion very weakly, believed, that the great ſecret of our political intereſt conſiſted in forcing, in a manner, a monopoly of foreign commerce. It was from this perſuaſion, that the popular Orator uſed, upon the occaſion juſt mentioned, a figure of rhetoric at once fooliſh and abſurd, when he affirmed, that the Coloniſts ſhould be prohibited "from manufacturing even the hob-nail of a horſe-ſhoe!" One might be tempted to aſk the Orator, how this prohibitory mandate could be enforced; or if it could, whether it is leſs arbitrary, than to demand an *internal* tax from the Americans, for the ſupport of their own govern-

ment,

ment, and even for the general ſupport of the State, and as a ſuitable return for the protection which they have ever derived from the Government of this kingdom?

The Congreſs had ſurely forgot this ſtrange rhetorical figure of the great Orator, when they were tempted to date PUBLIC RUIN, from his reſignation in 1761. They have alſo forgot, or they do not chuſe to remember, that he acquieſced in the DECLARATORY BILL, brought in and paſſed by the Marquis of Rockingham's Party, who were in office, in the beginning of the year 1766. This Bill expreſly declares, "that all his Majeſty's Colonies and Plantations in "America have been, are, and of right ought to "be, ſubordinate to and dependent upon the Im-"perial Crown and PARLIAMENT OF GREAT "BRITAIN; who have full power and authority "to make laws and ſtatutes of ſufficient validity to "bind the Colonies and People of America, ſub-"jects of the Crown of Great Britain, IN ALL "CASES WHATSOEVER."

Mr. Pitt, to preſerve ſome degree of conſiſtency, objected to the words "IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER." But his oppoſition was ſo languid, that he did not attend the Houſe when the Bill was paſſed;

paſſed; and only five Peers were found to follow his opinion, when it came under debate in the Houſe of Lords.

"The Declaratory Act," as the American Congreſs affirms, "comprehends all the grievances of which "they complain." Yet that very Congreſs, with peculiar effrontery, not only approve, but even praiſe the conduct of the very Party by whom the Bill was introduced, and the MAN, by whoſe CRIMINAL ACQUIESCENCE (to uſe one of his own phraſes) it paſſed into a law. THAT Party and THAT MAN, being now in oppoſition to Government, the Americans endeavour to ſecure their ſupport, by flattering their vanity at the expence of truth! They forget paſt demerits in the hopes of preſent ſervices. But when they expect to deceive a whole Party into their intereſt, they themſelves are made the tools of that Party; and, like the figure of the Negro, near Temple-bar, are turned round by the machine, which they pretend to move.

The Congreſs, in a ſtrain of eloquent adulation, ſpeaks with raptures of "that illuſtrious Band of "diſtinguiſhed Peers and Commoners," who now declaim, argue, and proteſt, in favour of their own Rebellion. It has appeared that the Act of which they moſt complain, was the manufacture of that very

very "illuſtrious Band," encouraged by the negative oppoſition made by the Earl of Chatham, whoſe advice the Band followed, as it ſoon after appeared, to their own political deſtruction. Beſides, was it not under the Adminiſtration of the Earl of Chatham, in the years 1767 and 1768, though the Americans date their misfortunes from the reſignation of Mr. Pitt in October 1761, that the Bills impoſing internal duties, and conſequently eſtabliſhing internal Taxation in America, were paſſed into laws*? Did not the preſent Adminiſtration, whoſe meaſures the Congreſs affect to reprobate throughout, repeal all thoſe Acts, except the duty on Tea †, to gratify the prejudices of the Americans, and, if poſſible, to re-eſtabliſh tranquility in all the Provinces? With what colour of reaſon, therefore, can the Americans lay the blame either of their real or pretended grievances on the Noblemen and Gentlemen now in office; and yet approve of the conduct of thoſe very perſons who paſſed the Declaratory Act, and followed it with Bills of impoſts raiſed in the Colonies?

In reprobating the Declaratory Act, the Congreſs recur to their uſual maxim, That Taxation

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* 7 Geo. III. Ch. 46.

† 10 Geo. III.

and

and Repreſentation are inſeparable. Though it has been already ſhewn, that they are as much repreſented as twenty-four in twenty-five of the inhabitants of Great-Britain; though it has been proved, that whole Provinces, not repreſented, had been for ſeveral ages ſubjected to impoſts laid by the Legiſlature; though it ſhall, hereafter, appear that they themſelves have been uniformly taxed by the Britiſh Parliament; this argument they hold forth as invincible, and found upon it their preſent reſiſtance to the ſupremacy of the Parent-kingdom. In purſuing it injudiciouſly and too far, they actually diſcover the expediency, and even neceſſity of that ſupremacy, of which they ſo loudly complain. The Parliament of Great-Britain, ſay they, will certainly perceive, "that an American "revenue, if not diverted from the oſtenſible "purpoſes for which it is raiſed, will actually "lighten their own burdens, in proportion as they "increaſe ours." But is it not equitable, is it not juſt, is it not neceſſary, that all the ſubjects of the empire ſhould bear, as equally as poſſible, the public burdens of the empire? Why ſhould the Americans, who have ſo largely, ſo uniformly, and ſo effectually experienced the protection of Government, be the only perſons exempted from paying their ſhare of its expences? Is it either reaſonable or ſuitable to the common uſage of Na-

tions, that thoſe who deſert their country ſhould enjoy greater privileges than thoſe that remain? The Americans having been ſpared during the infancy of their Colonies on account of their poverty, endeavour to eſtabliſh into an inherent right what was actually an indulgence.

Though this indulgence has been a ſource of error to the more ignorant part of the Americans, there are ſurely many among them who know, that Parliament hath been uniformly accuſtomed to extend its ſupremacy over all the Colonies. In matters of revenue, in commerce, in civil, in all judicial regulations; and, in ſhort, with regard to the general conſtitution of their government, the Provinces of North-America, till taught otherwiſe by a diſappointed Faction in this Kingdom, allowed, that the whole fabrick of their polity might be new-modelled and reformed by the ſuperintending power of Parliament. In fact, it has been ſo new-modelled and reformed, whenever abuſes in the Adminiſtration of their Government, under their civil polity, or the general intereſt of the Britiſh Empire, made it neceſſary for Parliament to interpoſe its authority. Inſtances of this interpoſition, in both caſes, preſent themſelves, in almoſt every volume of the Statutes, from the Reſtoration down to the preſent reign; yet the Americans falſely inſinuate, that it was in the preſent

reign

reign the exercise of the authority of Parliament (except only in the regulation of trade) first commenced.

A brief recital of some of those instances may throw light on a subject, rendered obscure and perplexed by the prejudices of the ignorant, and the arts of designing men. To gain the ears of the Populace, by awakening their ancient jealousies, the Americans affect to ascribe the present system of measures to principles of Toryism, which, they pretend, prevail in our Councils. But, unfortunately for this part of their plan of deception, it will appear, that most of the Acts which bind America in coercive regulations, were passed soon after the Revolution; in the reign of the very Prince, who brought about that great event. The Whig Ministers of King William (perceiving that the Colonies, even then, had entertained views of placing themselves on a ground of independence on Parliament) advised their Sovereign, and their advice now stands on record, to pursue measures, which, in their consequence, should effectually secure their thorough dependence on the Legislature of this Kingdom.

In consequence of the advice given by a Whig Ministry to a King who had mounted the throne

upon WHIG principles; and alſo upon the fulleſt evidence of the frauds and abuſes committed in the Plantations, in violation of the Act of Navigation; the Act of the 7th and 8th of William III. "for preventing frauds, and regulating abuſes, in "the Plantations" was paſſed. By that Act, a power was given to the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury and Cuſtoms in England, "to eſtabliſh ports, "and appoint Officers, in the Plantations; and "thoſe Officers to have the ſame authority for "viſiting ſhips and goods, and entering houſes "and warehouſes, as was exerciſed by the ſame "Officers in England."

All penalties and forfeitures were made recoverable in the Courts at Weſtminſter, or in Courts of Admiralty, in the Plantations; which Courts were then, for the *firſt time*, eſtabliſhed throughout all America. In any action or ſuit concerning his Majeſty's Duties, the offence might be laid in any precinct or diviſion of the Plantations, where the ſame ſhould be alledged to have been committed, at the diſcretion of the Officer or Informer. All laws, by-laws, uſages and cuſtoms repugnant to any laws of Great Britain which relate to the Plantations, or mention the ſame, are declared "illegal, null, and void." Many other reſtrictions,

too

too tedious to be mentioned, were at the ſame time enacted and impoſed.

But it was not in matters of Trade ONLY, that Parliament, during the reign of King William, ſuperintended and controuled the Colonies. The Coloniſts, it was found, had encouraged Pirates, in various places; and no juſtice could be obtained in THEIR Courts againſt offenders, whom they openly abetted. To remedy this ſhameful abuſe, a remarkable Act was paſſed, in the 11th and 12th of William III. This Act aboliſhed all juriſdiction in that caſe, in the Courts in the Plantations. The SOLE power of trying ſuch offences, in the Colonies, was veſted in Commiſſioners, appointed under the Great Seal of England, or Seal of the Admiralty, according to the courſe of the Admiralty, that is to ſay, WITHOUT JURY. The Commiſſioners were alſo impowered to iſſue warrants, in any of the Colonies, for arreſting ſuch Pirates or their acceſſaries. They might, at diſcretion, either try the criminals in America, or ſend them to England to be tried. Should the Governors of any Charter or Proprietary Government refuſe to aſſiſt the Commiſſioners; ſhould any perſon in authority, in the Colonies, refuſe to pay obedience to the Act;

ſuch

ſuch refuſal, in either caſe, was declared to be a forfeiture of the Charter.

An Act paſſed in the 10th and 11th year of the ſame reign, confines the advantage of the Fiſhery of Newfoundland to Britiſh ſhips fitted out from Great-Britain. The execution of the orders and regulations reſpecting that Fiſhery, was placed in the hands of the Admirals, in the reſpective harbours; that is to ſay, in the hands of the Maſter of the ſhip that ſhould firſt arrive from Great-Britain. The deciſion in all queſtions of civil ſuit is veſted in ſuch Admirals, with appeal to the Commander of the King's ſhips. All criminal offences are to be tried, in any County of England, by the King's Commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer and Goal delivery.

The opinions of this Nation concerning the Government of the Colonies, may be collected from the above Acts. The authority of Parliament to bind America, in all caſes whatſoever, and whenever the general intereſt of the whole Empire required it, was never diſputed; and it was often exerted to correct abuſes, and to ſuppreſs the ideas of independence, which began, even then, to be

cheriſhed

cheriſhed by the Colonies. The ſame principles and the ſame policy, were carried down by Parliament through the three ſucceeding reigns of Queen Anne, and of George I. and George II.

Early in the firſt of thoſe reigns, the groſſeſt abuſes were committed by the petty Legiſlatures in the Colonies, with reſpect to Coin. The interpoſition of Parliament became neceſſary to correct thoſe abuſes. An Act was paſſed in the 6th of Queen Anne, for that purpoſe; when the Councils of that Princeſs were guided by Whigs. By this Act the rates of Foreign Coin, in the Plantations, were aſcertained; and a ſevere puniſhment was inflicted on thoſe who ſhould take them at higher rates. The American Trade was placed in the ſame reign under further reſtrictions, by Act of Parliament. Rice and Molaſſes were added to the liſt of enumerated commodities. In the reign of George I. Furs and Copper-ore of the Plantations were ſubjected to the ſame reſtrictions.

The Britiſh Parliament confined not to Acts their ſenſe of the undoubted right they poſſeſſed of controuling the Colonies, in all caſes whatſoever. In the Journals of both Houſes, there are many Proceedings which furniſh proofs of their unde-

viating

viating adherence to the ſame principles. In the year 1702, a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, for aboliſhing all the Charter and Proprietary Governments in America, and reuniting them to the Crown. In 1705, the Houſe of Lords came to ſeveral Reſolutions on the ſubject of laws enacted in ſeveral of thoſe Governments. They declared thoſe laws to be repugnant to the laws of England, and deſtructive to the Conſtitution. This proceeding was likewiſe followed by a Bill for aboliſhing thoſe Charters.

Theſe Bills, it muſt be confeſſed, were not carried into laws. But they did not fail, through any doubt entertained by the Legiſlature againſt their propriety. They were loſt through a change in the ſituation of thoſe, who brought forward the meaſure. That the opinion of the Legiſlature continued the ſame on this ſubject, is evident; as the ſame propoſition was again taken up in the year 1716; when a WHIG Miniſtry governed the Kingdom.

In the reign of George II. the inſtances of the controuling authority of Parliament over the Colonies, are more numerous and ſtriking. By an Act of the 2d of George II. Chap. 35. ſevere prohibitions

hibitions and penalties are impoſed and inflicted on ſuch perſons as ſhall cut and deſtroy white Pine-trees, tho' ſuch Pines are growing within the limits of a Townſhip already granted; and theſe penalties are directed to be ſued for and recovered in the Courts of Admiralty. The Merchants of Great-Britain having, in the 5th of the ſame reign, preferred a Petition to Parliament, complaining of the difficulties they met with in the recovery of debts in the Plantations; an Act was paſſed, which ſubjected all real Eſtates in the Colonies to juſt debts and demands; and to be aſſets, in the ſame manner as in England, for the ſatisfaction of debts due by Bond. The exportation of Hats from any of the Colonies, and even the conveyance of them by land from one Colony to another, is prohibited, under ſevere penalties, by an Act paſſed in the ſame Seſſion.

In the year 1733 the Province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay preſented a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, praying that they might be heard by Counſel on the ſubject of Grievances. The chief of theſe was, "That the Crown had reſtrained their "Governour, by inſtructions, in certain caſes re-"lative to the iſſue and diſpoſal of Public Money, "and the emiſſion of Paper-Bills of Credit." The Commons, having conſidered the matter, came to a

Reſolution, " That the Petition was frivolous and " groundleſs, a high inſult upon his Majeſty's Go- " vernment, and tending to SHAKE OFF THE DE- " PENDENCY of the ſaid Colony upon this King- " dom, to which in LAW and RIGHT THEY OUGHT " TO BE SUBJECT." Complaint having, at the ſame time, been made to the Houſe, " That the " Repreſentatives of that Colony had CENSURED a " perſon for giving evidence, before a Committee " of the Houſe, in the caſe of a Bill then depend- " ing in Parliament;" it was reſolved, " That the " paſſing ſuch cenſure was an AUDACIOUS PRO- " CEEDING, and a high violation of the privi- " leges of the Houſe." A Committee was ac- cordingly appointed to enquire who were the abettors of this unwarrantable proceeding.

We may perceive, from the above circumſtance, how jealous Parliament HAVE BEEN of their ſu- premacy and uncontroulable authority over the Colonies. Another inſtance muſt carry the proof of this poſition beyond the power of reply. In the year 1740, the Houſe of Commons entered into a conſideration of " the abuſes committed in " the Colonies, in reſpect to the emiſſion of Paper " Bills of Credit." After a long examination, they came to various Reſolutions. They reſolved,

" That

" That the Act passed in the 6th of Queen Anne,
" ascertaining the rates of Foreign Coin in America,
" had not been duly observed. That many indi-
" rect practices, in that respect, had been introduced,
" contrary to the true intent of the Act. That an
" Address should be presented to his Majesty to
" require the Governors of his Colonies to take
" effectual measures for the strict observance of
" the Act of the 6th of Queen Anne. That
" another Address should be presented, request-
" ing his Majesty to issue his Royal Proclamation,
" to settle and ascertain the rates of Foreign Gold
" Coins. That the CREATING and issuing Bills of
" Credit, in the British Colonies, by virtue of Acts
" of Assembly, had frustrated the design of the
" Act of the 6th of Queen Anne. That an
" humble Address of Thanks should be presented
" to his Majesty, for the orders he has already
" given on that head; and, That he should also
" be requested to require and command the Go-
" vernors of the respective Provinces, not to give
" their assent to any Act, whereby Bills of Credit
" might be issued in lieu of Money."

These spirited Resolutions of the Commons checked, for some time, the abuses in the emission

and circulation of Paper-Money. The New-England Governments, however, did not continue long to pay any regard to ROYAL Inſtructions, though ſupported and enforced by the authority of the Houſe of Commons. The frauds committed awakened again the attention of Parliament. In the 24th of George II. an Act was paſſed, "to "regulate and reſtrain Paper-bills of Credit in the "Four New-England Governments." The Governors of thoſe Colonies were prohibited, under pain of being removed from their Governments, and for ever rendered incapable of any public office or place of truſt, from aſſenting to any Act, Order, or Vote, for the iſſue of any Paper-bills of Credit; and all ſuch Acts, Orders, or Votes, were declared to be, *ipſo facto*, null and void.

In the year 1741 the Colonies took up the idea of a LAND-BANK, which had proved ſo unſucceſsful in England in the reign of King William. The "American Aſſemblies," it appeared to Parliament, "had PRESUMED to publiſh a ſcheme "for ſupplying a pretended want of a medium in "trade, for ſetting up a Bank on land ſecurity, "and to ſolicit ſubſcriptions." To correct this evil, an Act was paſſed, in the 14th of George II.

"to reſtrain and prevent ſuch unwarrantable prac-
"tices; and to extend to America, the penalties
"inflicted by a Statute of the 6th of George I. on
"perſons guilty of ſuch practices in theſe king-
"doms." They were alſo ſubjected, by the ſame Act, to the penalty and forfeiture ordained by the Statute of Proviſion and PREMUNIRE of the 16th of Richard the Second.

There are ſeveral other Statutes by which Parliament with equal force aſſert their authority over the Colonies. In ſome of theſe they carry this authority beyond the limits, with which they have hitherto circumſcribed it in this Kingdom. In the 29th of George II. cap. 35. Officers of the Army are empowered to enliſt, in the Colonies, apprentices and indented ſervants. The perſons ſo enliſted were exempted from arreſts in civil actions, where the value of the action exceeds not ten pounds. To theſe ſtriking inſtances of the controuling power of Parliament over the Colonies, may be added the Act of 23d of George II. cap. 29. By that Act, "every perſon erecting or working
"any mill or other engine for ſlitting or rolling
"iron, or any plating forge or furnace for making
"ſteel, is ſubjected to a penalty of 200l. to be
"recovered in any of the Courts in Weſtminſter-
"Hall,

" Hall, or in the Court of Exchequer in Scot-
" land."

The foregoing recital of Statutes binding the Colonies, prior to the preſent reign, of which the Congreſs ſo much complain, is ſufficient to convince the diſpaſſionate, that the controuling power of Parliament has been perpetually exerted, and never diſputed. There is hardly any object of Legiſlation in which the laws of this Country have not bound America. The Congreſs, whilſt they affect to diſavow the ſupremacy of the Britiſh Legiſlature, acknowledge that ſupremacy, perhaps thro' inadvertence, in its utmoſt latitude. They own themſelves the ſubjects of the King of Great-Britain; yet it was the Britiſh Legiſlature that placed his Majeſty and his family on the Throne. Were the Colonies repreſented in the Parliament which limited the ſucceſſion of the Crown to the Houſe of Hanover, any more than they were in THAT which laid a paltry Duty on tea in the Ports of America? His Majeſty owes his Throne to the Laws of England; and, as King, he can have no ſubject that is not bound by that law.

Taxation has been purpoſely omitted in the above detail. That article, as the great object of conteſt,

ought

ought to be ſeparately ſtated. The ſeveral inſtances of the exerciſe of the power of Parliament, in that caſe, ſhall be, therefore, thrown into one Point of view. The firſt inſtance of Taxation is the Act of the 12th of Charles II. for granting to the Crown a duty of Tonnage and Poundage. This Act is in point. It directs, that the duties abovementioned "ſhall be payable upon commodities not only "imported into the realm of England, but alſo "into the DOMINIONS THEREUNTO BELONGING." The Colonies are here included in expreſs words. It is true, indeed, that the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage were NOT collected in America. The reaſon was, that the commerce of the Plantations was ſo inconſiderable, that the revenue ariſing from it could not pay the expence of collection.

But whatever might have been the reaſon for NOT collecting the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage in the Colonies, the Law was certainly underſtood to extend to America. In the year 1680, the Aſſembly of the Iſland of Jamaica refuſed "to raiſe "levies for the ſupport of Government." Upon this refuſal, the Lords of the Council made a Minute "to confer with the Judges upon the queſtion: "Whether the ſubſidies upon the Tonnage and "Poundage upon goods that may by Law,

or

" or ſhall be directly carried to Jamaica, be not " payable, according to Law, by his Majeſty's " ſubjects inhabiting that Iſland, or trading there, " by virtue of the Acts of Tonnage and Poundage, " or other Acts made in England ?" Unfortunately it does not appear, whether the conference was ever held; or if it was actually held, what was the reſult.

The 25th of Charles II. cap. 7. is the next Act that binds America, in point of Taxation. By that Act certain duties are made payable in the Plantations, upon ſugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, logwood, fuſtic, and other dying woods, and cocoa-nuts exported to any other place, except England. Theſe Duties continue to be paid to this day.

In the 9th of Queen Anne, an Act was paſſed, impoſing certain Duties on all prize-goods taken in America, and imported into any of the Colonies. Theſe Duties were as follows: " All European " goods (wine and brandy excepted) which have " been uſually ſent to the Plantations, are to pay " THERE ſuch Cuſtoms, as are payable for the " like goods imported into the Plantations from " Great-Britain. Other goods taken as prizes " ſhall be liable THERE to ſuch Duties as were

" payable

" payable for the ſame, by any Act of Aſſembly, " in the ſaid Plantations."

To theſe Acts, ſubjecting his Majeſty's ſubjects in America to Taxes impoſed by the Britiſh Parliament, ſeveral others may be added. The Act of the 9th of Queen Anne, for eſtabliſhing a Poſt-office. The various Acts paſſed for levying and inforcing the collection of the duty of ſixpence per month, out of Seamen's wages, for the ſupport of Greenwich Hoſpital. All theſe Acts extend to America. They bind the Colonies, as well as the Mother-Country. Their authority was never diſputed; and the Taxes impoſed by them have been uniformly raiſed. The Act of the 2d of George II. cap. 7. is ſtill more explicit and deciſive in the words. It requires the payment of the Duties for Greenwich Hoſpital, " by " ſeamen belonging to American ſhips, whether " employed upon the high ſeas, or in any port, " harbour, bay or creek, within ANY of the Co- " lonies."

It appears from this detail of facts, that the right of Parliament to bind the Colonies, in all caſes whatſoever, is not a claim founded on mere theory: on the contrary, that the controuling

power of the Legiſlature is warranted by conſtant uſage, and uninterrupted practice. That the Declaratory Act, of which the Americans complain, contains no new, no aſſumed powers over the Plantations; and that there is ſcarce any channel of Legiſlation, through which the Britiſh Parliament has NOT exerted its ſupremacy, in as full and ample a manner as it has been exerted over the inhabitants of Great-Britain; and all this prior to the preſent reign, in which the Congreſs place the commencement of "Public Ruin."

The American Congreſs, with a partiality for themſelves ſcarcely conſiſtent with their deſign of gaining others, in the next paragraph of their Declaration, call the Acts, which were the CONSEQUENCE of the reſiſtance of their conſtituents, the CAUSE of their rebellion. In deſcending to particulars, their firſt complaint is ſtated againſt "the extenſion of the juriſdiction of the Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty beyond their former limits;" by which, they alledge, "the ſubject is deprived of his inherent right of a trial by Jury." The Congreſs ſurely forget, or it is not conſiſtent with their deſign to remember, that the alterations of which they complain were made at the requeſt of their conſtituents. The rea-

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ſons aſſigned for this requeſt were, that the Courts of Admiralty eſtabliſhed formerly in the various Provinces, poſſeſſed ſo little dignity, on account of the dependence and poverty of the judges, that juſtice was either ſacrificed to connexions, or biaſſed by avarice. Beſides that, Appeals to Great-Britain could be ſeldom made, on account of the expence and diſtance. To remedy this evil, the preſent eſtabliſhment of Courts of Admiralty in America was formed. Four great Courts of Vice-Admiralty were erected. The Judges were rendered independent by ample ſalaries. The line of Appeal became ſhort, eaſy, and obvious; and as to trial by Jury, the whole world knows that the Court of Admiralty in England never admitted that mode of trial in CIVIL caſes.

The complaint of the Congreſs, with regard to the Bill for ſhutting the Port of Boſton, is ridiculous as well as unjuſt, as the inhabitants of that place had it in their own power to remove the grievance. The deſtruction of the Eaſt-India Company's tea, at Boſton, is well known to have been the deliberate act of a very great majority of the inhabitants. To obtain reparation by the common courſe of law was impoſſible, where the number of the offenders ſcreened them effectu-

ally from juſtice. It was a public crime, and the puniſhment ought to have been general. In purſuance of that plan of tenderneſs, which has been fatally loſt on the Americans, the Bill for ſuſpending the trade of Boſton was rendered conditional. A door was left open for an immediate reconciliation, ſhould the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſett's-Bay make a public grant, for repairing the damage ſuſtained, by a Company of Merchants, through a public outrage. Yet the Congreſs ſtigmatize with the name of injuſtice, a coercive ſtatute rendered abſolutely neceſſary by the ſhameleſs depredations of the inhabitants of Boſton; and which ſtatute, they themſelves had it in their power to terminate, in an inſtant, by doing an act of common juſtice.

But why ſhould we expect common juſtice towards others, among a people, who (with regard to the Tea-Act) have been manifeſtly unjuſt to themſelves? It is of the Duty on Tea, the Americans principally complain; yet they ſubmitted to a Duty of 7 l. per Ton, laid on Wines, the Seſſion which immediately preceded the paſſing of the Tea-Act. The Duty on Tea was alſo ſubmitted to in all the Provinces where that commodity had not been uſually introduced by Smuggling. Boſton itſelf,

ſelf, and even Mr. John Hancock (now PRESIDENT of the Congreſs, but formerly a moſt notorious SMUGGLER), originally made no objection to the Act. It was when the Eaſt-India Company, by adopting the plan of ſending Tea to America in their own name, gave the finiſhing blow to Smuggling, that the inhabitants of Maſſachuſett's-Bay determined to oppoſe the Duty. Prior to the Act for laying the THREE-PENCE Duty on Tea, payable in the Colonies, the Americans actually paid a SHILLING, together with the profit of the Merchant. Formerly all Tea exported to the Plantations went encumbered with a Shilling, paid by the Eaſt-India Company. In other words, the Duty was not drawn back on exportation; ſo that, by the Act, the conſumer is a gainer of a Shilling in every pound of Tea, if to the nine-pence duty we ſhould add commiſſion, inſurance, freight, and profit. Smugglers found themſelves incapable of carrying on their contraband commerce; and they inflamed an ignorant rabble, to ſerve their own intereſt, or to gratify their own revenge.

With equal effrontery, and with ſtill leſs reaſon, the Congreſs exclaim againſt the alteration made in the form of the government of Boſton. With their uſual fallacy in argument, the Americans wiſh to

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eſtabliſh it as a maxim in polity, That Charters granted by the CROWN, can neither be reverſed or altered by the LEGISLATURE. They might as well go at once to the whole ſupremacy; and ſave themſelves the trouble of thus ſupporting a cauſe untenable on any other grounds. The three branches of the Legiſlature united make daily alterations in the Conſtitution of Great Britain; and, if their Supremacy extends over the whole empire, they have the ſame right to alter the conſtitution of the American Colonies. If the Americans deny this poſition, all argument is at an end; and they avow an independence, which, in THEIR circumſtances, marks them out for enemies. After all, this alteration of which the Congreſs affect to complain, is no more than putting the inhabitants of Maſſachuſet's-Bay on the ſame footing with the other Colonies. They have received in miniature the counter-part of the conſtitution of the Mother-Kingdom; and have THEY a right, or can THEY wiſh to be more free than the freeſt nation in the world?

The Act for regulating the Government of Quebec, furniſhes the Congreſs with an ample field for declamation. To inveigh againſt Popery and Arbitrary Power has been ever a favourite

vourite topic with men, who wiſh to profit by the prejudices of the people. Had the Congreſs attended to the general principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution, they might have informed themſelves, that His Majeſty, without the interpoſition of the two other branches of the Legiſlature, might have permitted the inhabitants of Canada to remain for ever under French laws. There is no maxim in the Law of England more generally known or leſs controverted than, That in conquered or ceded countries, which have already laws of their own, ſuch laws remain in full force, till they are altered and changed by the Sovereign. Had His Majeſty, therefore, entertained ſuch deſigns, as the Congreſs obliquely lay to his charge, why ſhould he call in the aid of the Legiſlature to execute what was already done by the Common Law? The Congreſs will not, ſurely, affirm, that the ſyſtem of government eſtabliſhed by the Legiſlature in Quebec, is ſo arbitrary in itſelf, or ſo fit for the purpoſes of deſpotiſm, as the Conſtitution which ſubſiſted in that Province under the French. Ought they not to conſider, that no other form of government could have been eſtabliſhed, ſo ſuitable to the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, the tenures of their property, and the toleration of

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their religion, to all which they had an undoubted right, by the terms of their Capitulation and the articles of the ſubſequent Treaty of Peace?

The Oppoſition at HOME, as well as the Patriots ABROAD, have found an extenſive ſubject for pathetic eloquence, in the form of Government now eſtabliſhed by Law in Canada. The FORMER have either very treacherous memories, or they change without any ceremony their opinions with their ſituation. Under the adminiſtration of the EARL of CHATHAM, Mr. Morgan, Lord SHELBURNE'S Secretary, was ſent PRIVATELY to America, as Commiſſioner, to ſettle and regulate a new code for the Government of Quebec. The Governor and Chief Juſtice of that Province, if I am not miſtaken, were joined with Morgan in this SECRET, but important commiſſion. The meaſure, it is ſaid, was conſidered by the Board of Trade; it was certainly debated, if not adopted by the Cabinet, as far back as the year 1767, during the plenitude of the Earl of Chatham's power. Lord Camden was Chancellor, and gave his ſanction to regulations MORE ALLIED TO DESPOTISM than thoſe he reprobates at preſent. The Duke of Grafton, the Earl of Shelburne, General Conway, and ſeveral others of "that illuſtrious Band," on whoſe virtues the Americans

ricans expatiate with rapture, approved this POPISH, ARBITRARY, TYRANNICAL syſtem of Government*: yet all theſe are, now, true Americans, ſtrenuous Proteſtants, Whigs of the ancient mould, determined aſſertors of public freedom, avowed enemies to OPPRESSION, POPERY, and ARBITRARY POWER!

The Congreſs enumerate, among their complaints againſt the Britiſh Legiſlature, the Reſolution of Parliament to give its due force to an unrepealed ſtatute paſſed in the time of Henry VIII. It is declared in the Reſolution, that upon this ſtatute, treaſons and miſpriſions of treaſon committed in any of his Majeſty's dominions beyond ſea, ſubject to the Crown of Great-Britain, may be tried in England. Though this Reſolution is conſidered by the Congreſs as a part of the ideal ſyſtem of enſlavement, with which they charge the King and Parliament, it contains no novelty, no uncommon ſtretch of law. A thouſand inſtances of the ſame kind are upon record, long before the preſent diſputes with America began. One inſtance is extremely remarkable; I mean, the tranſactions in the Caſe of the Inſurrection in

* Lord Rockingham had the *merit* of ſending a *Popiſh* Biſhop to Quebec.

Antigua, in the year 1711. All the proceedings were founded on the Act of Henry VIII. Some of the Inſurgents were ſent to England; they were tried upon that Statute; and that circumſtance has eſtabliſhed a precedent which cannot be controverted. But had even a new law of this kind been made, what reaſon could the American Congreſs have to complain? Have not the prejudices, inſurrections, and even rebellion of their own countrymen totally interrupted the common courſe of juſtice over all the vaſt Continent which they inhabit; and ſhall the generality of the crime be admitted a competent excuſe againſt puniſhment?

From condemning the Acts of the Legiſlature, the Congreſs paſs to complaints againſt their Sovereign, as well as his principal ſervants. They alledge, that the "Americans have inceſſantly "and ineffectually beſieged the Throne for ten "years;" yet conceal the reaſon, which was, That their demands, rather than requeſts, were ſuch as the Sovereign could not grant, conſiſtent with the powers veſted in him by the Conſtitution. They complain, that fleets and armies have been ſent to their country, to enforce the coercive laws enacted by the Legiſlature, for the eſtabliſhment of its ſupremacy; yet they paſs over in ſilence the outrages committed by themſelves, which

which rendered that meaſure neceſſary. Did they not draw the ſword with one hand, when the other was ſtretched forth with petitions for relief from pretended grievances? Did they not purchaſe arms, ammunition, and artillery, form magazines, enliſt ſoldiers, and prepare, in every reſpect, for rebellion and war, when they affected to ſpeak the language of ſubmiſſion and peace?

All theſe are facts that cannot be controverted. The Congreſs know the truth, but purſue their plan of deception. "They hoped in vain," they ſay, "for moderation in their enemies;" yet their own conduct has been one continued ſeries of violence, oppreſſion, and injuſtice. Having diſclaimed their allegiance to the Sovereign, diſobeyed the acts of the Legiſlature, deſtroyed the property, and inſulted the perſons of the ſervants of the State, aſſumed the functions of ſovereignty, and ruſhed into actual rebellion; they complain of a want of moderation in Government, for exerting the power veſted in it by the Conſtitution, for reſtoring tranquillity, enforcing legal ſubmiſſion to the laws of the State, and for protecting the injured and puniſhing the guilty.

Throughout the whole of their ſtrange Declaration, the American Congreſs appear to adapt

their reaſonings to the weakneſs of the prejudiced, and their facts to the credulity of the ignorant. They affirm, that they have uniformly endeavoured to procure an accommodation with the Mother-Country; yet they reprobate the Reſolution of the Commons, on the 20th of February, which opened a fair channel for agreement. They call the Reſolution "an inſidious manœuvre, calculated to divide the Americans, and to eſtabliſh a perpetual auction of taxation, where "Colony ſhould bid againſt Colony, all of them "uninformed what ranſom ſhould redeem their "lives; and thus to extort from them, at the "point of the bayonet, the unknown ſums that "ſhould be ſufficient to gratify, if poſſible to "gratify miniſterial rapacity, with the miſerable "indulgence left them of raiſing, in their own "mode, the preſcribed tribute." We may learn, from this tedious and involved ſentence, how much the Congreſs have profited by the ſpeeches of Patriotiſm in the Britiſh Parliament. A noted Orator, who has been ſuſpected of having penned the DECLARATORY BILL, (which, the Congreſs alledge, contains the whole maſs of American grievances) uſed almoſt the ſame words in the Houſe of Commons, on the day the Reſolution came under debate. But former demerits have been forgot, in what the American Demagogues fooliſhly conſtrue into preſent ſervices.

To ſhew the nature of the Propoſition which the Congreſs ſtigmatize with the name of an "inſidious manœuvre," ſome previous facts muſt be explained. On the ſecond of February, a Motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, for an Addreſs to his Majeſty, which was ſoon after preſented, with the concurrence of the Lords. In this Addreſs, the two Houſes having ſtated ſome facts, were induced to declare, that a rebellion actually exiſted at that time in the Province of Maſſachuſet's-bay: That this conduct was the more inexcuſable, when it was conſidered with how much temper his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament had acted, in ſupport of the Laws and Conſtitution of Great-Britain: That they were reſolved never ſo far to deſert the truſt repoſed in them, as to relinquiſh ANY PART *of the* SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY *over* ALL *his* MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS, which the law inveſted in his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament: That the conduct of the Americans was ſufficient to convince them of the neceſſity of this ſupremacy and power: That, however, they had always been, and always ſhould be ready to pay attention and regard to any real grievances, which ſhould be laid before them in a DUTIFUL and CONSTITUTIONAL manner: That they requeſted his Majeſty to take the moſt effectual meaſures to enforce due obedience to the

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laws and authority of the Supreme Legiſlature: And that they were reſolved, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to ſupport his Majeſty againſt all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of the juſt rights of his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament.

In this Addreſs the two Houſes of Parliament, while they held forth the Sword in one hand, evidently tendered the Olive-branch with the other. The Americans themſelves were made the arbiters of their own fate. The choice of war or peace was left in their own hands. But as the offer of Parliament to liſten to the real grievances of the Coloniſts was deemed too general to form a foundation for an agreement between them and the Mother-country, the Miniſter, wiſhing to conciliate matters with America, even contrary to the opinion of many Friends to this Country, laid before the Houſe of Commons ſome EXPLICIT PROPOSITIONS, which might anſwer that end. Accordingly, on the twentieth of February, the following Propoſitions were introduced to a Committee of the whole Houſe, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer: "That it is the opinion of this "Committee, that when the Governor, Council, "and Aſſembly, or General Court of his Majeſty's "Provinces or Colonies ſhall propoſe to make pro-

"viſion

" viſion according to their reſpective conditions,
" circumſtances, and ſituations, for contributing
" their proportion to the common defence; ſuch
" proportion to be raiſed under the authorities of
" the General Court, or General Aſſembly of ſuch
" Province or Colony, and diſpoſable by Parlia-
" ment; and ſhall engage to make proviſion alſo
" for the ſupport of the Civil Government, and
" the adminiſtration of juſtice in ſuch Province
" or Colony; it will be proper, if ſuch propoſal
" ſhall be approved by his Majeſty in Parliament,
" and for ſo long as ſuch proviſion ſhall be made
" accordingly, to forbear in reſpect of ſuch Pro-
" vince, or Colony, to levy any duties, tax, or
" aſſeſſment, or to impoſe any further duty, tax,
" or aſſeſſment, except only ſuch duties as it may
" be expedient to impoſe for the regulation of
" Commerce; the nett produce of the duties laſt
" mentioned, to be carried to the account of ſuch
" Province, Colony, or Plantation reſpectively."

This Reſolution, which was carried by a great majority, plainly marked the ground for a negotiation, and an equitable agreement with the Colonies. It was moderate, comprehenſive, and explicit. It named the perſons from whom the propoſals muſt come, and thoſe to whom they were to be made. The end and purpoſe of the Contribution

tribution were explained. The appropriation of the expected revenue was specified, and precluded every suspicion of its being misapplied. Though the offer was conditional, it was plainly conclusive, as long as the Americans themselves should adhere to the agreement. They had it in their power to tax themselves, the great point for which they professed to contend; and the only right reserved by the Legislature was, to determine the QUANTUM of the supply; and they alone can determine it, as being the supreme power, who are the sole judges of what is necessary to support the State. The Proposition, upon the whole, was AT LEAST as favourable to the pretensions of the Americans, as to the claims of the Mother-Country. The former, therefore, must have accepted the proposal, had what they held forth to the Public formed the real principles of their opposition.

The Minority in Parliament, who deemed nothing so fatal to their own views, as an agreement with the Americans, upon equitable, and consequently permanent terms, opposed this Proposition as insidious in its nature, and for that purpose rendered obscure and perplexed in its language. The American Demagogues, whose influence can only exist in the midst of anarchy and confusion, opposed it with similar views. The

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latter, indeed, have approved ſo much of the SENTIMENTS, or rather PROFESSIONS of the former, that they have, in their Declaration, echoed back their very words in Parliament. The argument before went only to the claim of the Americans to be permitted, in their Aſſemblies, to ſettle the mode of Taxation. They then demanded an excluſive privilege of fixing the amount or quantum of the ſupply; and now they will give no ſupply at all. But if neither the mode nor the QUANTUM is to be left in the power of Parliament, what power has Parliament left, with regard to the taxing of the Americans? Ought the BRITISH LEGISLATURE to lay HUMBLY the wants of the Public before the PETTY LEGISLATURES of America, and requeſt *their* aid for the general ſupport of Government? What would this be, but the total emancipation of the Colonies from that ſupremacy for which we contend?

The Americans, formerly, declared themſelves willing to contribute to the exigences and expences of the State, provided the demand ſhould come by requiſition from the King, and not by an immediate exertion of Parliamentary authority. This offer his Majeſty declined, with that patriotiſm which has uniformly marked his own meaſures,

during his reign. Anxious for the happineſs of ALL his ſubjects, he choſe to be the Monarch of ONE great and free nation, rather than the Sovereign of a number of petty States, weakened by their own diſunion. Had his Majeſty been actuated by thoſe motives of ambition, which are not uncommon among Princes, he would have eagerly cloſed with the offers of the Americans. Inſtead of making himſelf dependent, for the maintenance of his dignity, upon the grants of ONE Aſſembly, he might have extricated himſelf from even the fear of pecuniary difficulties, by a proper management of many Aſſemblies. The Repreſentatives of one Province might be gratified into the views of the Crown, from the revenue of another; Britiſh Members might receive the wages of corruption in America; and American Repreſentatives be ſent for the price of their votes to this Kingdom.

But ſucceeding events have demonſtrated, that the Americans were not ſincere, in any one of their declarations, in favour of an amicable accommodation. The Propoſitions voted, on the 20th of February, came up to their own former demands; yet they evaded them, by treating them as inſidious. The truth is, they knew their own demerits towards this Country, and they could not believe, that

that propoſals ſo highly favourable could have been, on her part, ſincere. One good, however, has reſulted from the Propoſitions. The Colonies, by rejecting them, have left no doubt remaining concerning their real intentions. They confine no longer their claims to the excluſive privilege of taxing themſelves. They aim, evidently, at a total independence in all matters whatſoever; and more particularly with regard to the Act of Navigation. They have long made ſecret but moſt dangerous encroachments on this PALLADIUM of our Commerce. They now publickly avow their reſolution to pay no regard to any Parliamentary reſtrictions, whether ancient or recent, on THEIR Commerce. They now openly trade all over Europe; and the obtaining the privilege, which they have, at length, uſurped, has been the primary cauſe of their reſiſtance to Parliament. The manufacturers and merchants of this Country have been long no ſtrangers to this American policy; yet the Congreſs have the effrontery to expect, that the mercantile intereſt of Great Britain will eſpouſe their cauſe.

The American Congreſs, having in a looſe, curſory, and ſuperficial manner, advanced ſome pretended arguments to juſtify their rebellion,

deſcend to the miſrepreſentation of facts, with the ſame deſign. They affirm, " That General Gage, " who had occupied Boſton as a garriſon, ſent out " a large detachment of his army, on the 19th " of April, who made an unprovoked aſſault on " the inhabitants of the Province of Boſton, at " Lexington." On this allegation of the Congreſs, it may be remarked, that the rebellious conduct of the Town of Boſton, where all the authority of legal government had been long extinguiſhed by the tyranny of a rabble inſtigated by factious leaders, had rendered a force neceſſary in that place, to reſtore order and tranquillity, to protect the innocent, and to reſtrain the exceſſes of the turbulent and guilty. That the military preparations made in all parts of the Province, and eſpecially at the Town of Concord, with the avowed intention of oppoſing all legal authority, induced and even forced General Gage (though fatally too late) to ſend out a detachment of the troops under his command, to prevent hoſtilities, by ſeizing the means of carrying them on. That ſome of the Inhabitants of the Province, in " war- " like array," ſtood in the way of this detachment, with arms in their hands; and that when ordered to remove in a peaceable manner, they made " an unprovoked aſſault" on his Majeſty's troops,

troops, by firing FIRST upon them, and killing ſome, and wounding many.

The audacity of the Congreſs, in aſſerting FALSEHOODS, demands a brief detail of the TRUTH. General Gage, having been informed that arms, ammunition, cannon, and other implements of war, had been collected in the town of Concord, ordered a detachment of the Army to march with all poſſible ſecrecy to that place. He gave orders to the detachment, to obſerve the moſt ſtrict diſcipline, and to reſent no inſults offered them by the country people, except actual hoſtilities. The General's orders were, in truth, too implicitly obſerved. There was not one LOADED MUSQUET in the whole detachment, except thoſe in the hands of FIFTY Marines, who formed the van, when they were FIRED upon, by the country people, at Lexington. The affidavits of the rebels, on this ſubject, are impoſitions and perjuries. There is not a man, whether officer or ſoldier, in the whole detachment, conſiſting of 800 men, but is ready, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to atteſt the truth of this fact.

It were to be wiſhed, for the honour of the inſurgents, that their BARBAROUS CRUELTY to the

the wounded ſoldiers, were more problematical than their firing FIRST on the King's troops. The ſoldiers who fell by the firſt fire of the rebels, were found ſcalped, when the detachment returned from Concord to Lexington Bridge. Two ſoldiers who lay wounded on the field, and had been ſcalped by the ſavage Provincials, were ſtill breathing. They appeared, by the traces of blood, to have rolled in the agonies of this horrid ſpecies of death, ſeveral yards from the place where they had been ſcalped. Near theſe unfortunate men, another dreadful object preſented itſelf. A ſoldier who had been ſlightly wounded, appeared with his eyes torn out of their ſockets, by the barbarous mode of GOUGING, a word and practice peculiar to the Americans. Humanity forbids us to dwell longer on this ſcene of horror. The rebels, to break the force of accuſation, began to recriminate. They laid ſeveral inſtances of wanton cruelty to the charge of the troops; yet nothing is better aſcertained, than that not one of the ſoldiers ever quitted the road, either upon their march or return from Concord.

The Congreſs ſtigmatize the expedition to Lexington and Concord, with the epithets "of an un-"provoked and wanton aſſault." Was the collecting

lecting warlike implements at Concord, raiſing men throughout the Province, diſciplining troops in every diſtrict, forming magazines, purchaſing ammunition, and preparing arms, no provocation? Were not the whole Country aſſembled before they knew of this expedition? And was not their being ſo completely provided with the means of repelling hoſtilities, a ſufficient proof, that they had previouſly reſolved to commence them? Could TEN THOUSAND men, the number that attacked (though at a PRUDENT diſtance) the troops on their retreat, have been collected by accident, or called together by a ſudden alarm? Are not the Congreſs conſcious to themſelves, and was not General Gage ſufficiently apprized, that the people of Maſſachuſets-Bay had determined to begin hoſtilities, had the expedition to Concord never happened? The truth is, the march of the troops had only haſtened the execution of the plan of rebellion ſettled before in the ſecret Councils of the Provincial Congreſs.

The aſſertions of the Congreſs concerning tranſactions within the town of Boſton, are as utterly devoid of truth, as their account of what happened in the country. The hoſtile intentions of thoſe WITHIN, were as apparent as the rebellion

of

of their brethren WITHOUT was certain. The great law of ſelf-defence muſt therefore have juſtified General Gage for having deprived the former of arms, which they almoſt avowedly intended to raiſe againſt all legal authority. After the ſkirmiſh at Lexington and Concord, all ſupplies from the country were cut off from the town of Boſton. Many of the inhabitants deſired to remove, with their effects. Their requeſt was granted; but it was at the ſame time demanded, that they ſhould deliver up their arms. This was, at firſt, approved by all; but great clamours ſoon after followed. Such of the inhabitants as were well affected, or pretended to be well affected to Government, alledged, that none but the ill-inclined ſhewed any inclination to remove; and that when they ſhould become ſafe with their effects, the town would be ſet on fire. A great demur having alſo ariſen about the meaning of the word EFFECTS, whether MERCHANDISE was included; and the General being likewiſe ſenſible, that the permitting articles of that kind to be carried to the rebels, might ſtrengthen them in their reſiſtance; he retained the goods. But they are ſtill ſafely kept for the owners, ſhould they either continue faithful, or ſeize his Majeſty's mercy, and return to their duty.

The

The next paragraph of the Declaration, as it is not ſupported by truth, is addreſſed to the paſſions. The Congreſs complain, with an attempt at the pathos, "of the ſeparation of wives from "their huſbands, children from their parents, and "the aged and ſick from their relations and "friends." But is it not notorious to the whole world, that this SEPARATION, which the Congreſs affect to lament, was the neceſſary conſequence of the rebellion of their countrymen? Did they not ſurround the town of Boſton, with an armed force, with the avowed intention of deſtroying his Majeſty's forces, Generals, and Governor? And were the gates to be left open "to let ruin "enter," as one of their own writers expreſſes himſelf? Have the people of Boſton ſuffered more hardſhips than the inhabitants of beſieged towns uſually ſuffer? Have they not even ſuffered fewer reſtraints than men in their ſituation had reaſon to expect? Was not Dr. Warren, the Chairman of the Provincial Congreſs, a notorious abettor of the inſurrection, a nominal General in a rebel army, permitted to come into Boſton, under pretence of viſiting a ſick friend, on the day preceding the action on Bunker's-hill, where he was killed in arms againſt his King and Country? Is this a mark of thoſe cruel reſtraints, thoſe melancholy

ſeparations, of which the Congreſs complain? But THEIR buſineſs is to engage the paſſions, where they can make no impreſſion with their arguments.

In the next paragraph of their Declaration, the Congreſs, with their uſual want of impartiality and fairneſs, mention the CONSEQUENCES of their own rebellion, as the cauſe of their taking up arms. They obſerve, that General Gage iſſued a Proclamation, "declaring all the inhabitants of "Maſſachuſets-Bay rebels, ſuſpending the courſe "of the Common Law, and publiſhing inſtead "thereof the uſe and exerciſe of the Law Martial."* But, did he declare them rebels till they had attacked his Majeſty's troops, ſeized his forts and garriſons, beſieged his army in the capital of the Province, and not only interrupted the common courſe of juſtice, but even totally annihilated all legal authority? It is with peculiar effrontery, that the Congreſs number the ſuſpenſion of the common courſe of juſtice among their grievances, after all law and order had been trodden under foot by their own countrymen.

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* This he was authoriſed to do, as civil Governor, by a Law paſſed in the Province, many years ago.

With

With the ſame degree of arrogant folly the Congreſs complain, that "their countrymen were "killed on Bunker's-hill, that Charles-town was "burnt to the ground, that their ſhips and veſſels "have been ſeized, that their ſupplies of provi-"ſions have been intercepted, that General Carle-"ton is inſtigating the Canadians and Indians "againſt them, and that domeſtic enemies are en-"couraged to attack them." All theſe things may certainly have happened; but have they not happened in conſequence of their own rebellion? Have *they* a right to attack others, and have others no right to defend themſelves? Do the inhabitants of Maſſachuſets-Bay think, that as they have broken through all the ties that bind the ſubject to the Sovereign, the law of nature and of nations ought alſo to be ſuſpended to gratify *their* ambition, to flatter *their* folly, to favour *their* extravagant ſchemes of independence? To the above imaginary catalogue of American grievances, may be oppoſed the juſt complaints of Great-Britain. Have not the rebels carried their hoſtilities to every corner againſt the Parent-State, that firſt gave them exiſtence, and reared them to proſperity? Have they not attacked her troops at Lexington and at Concord, fired upon Boſton, burnt the Light-houſe, taken Ticonderago and

Crown Point, and even penetrated into Canada? And have they not uſed every artifice to inſtigate the Savages to make war on their Sovereign and Mother-Country? Almoſt all theſe injuries preceded the juſt exertions of this Kingdom to puniſh their rebellion.

The concluſion of the Declaration, though laboured, contains nothing but empty declamation, and therefore merits little notice. The ſame diſregard to truth, or rather the ſame attention to miſrepreſentation, which diſtinguiſhes the reſt of that ſtrange compoſition, is carried down to the end. They alledge, "that they are reduced to the alternative of chuſing an UNCONDITIONAL ſubmiſſion to tyranny, or reſiſtance by force." The Congreſs ſurely forget, or it ſuits THEIR purpoſe to paſs over in ſilence, the favourable (perhaps too favourable) conditions offered to them, by the Reſolution of the Commons, in the month of February laſt. The terms couched in that Reſolution were ſo obviouſly advantageous to America, that the Oppoſition in Parliament declared them INSIDIOUS; or, in other words, "too good to be ſincere." An amicable ſettlement had ceaſed to have been an object with the Demagogues ABROAD; and it would have ruined the ſchemes of

of the Faction at HOME. The FORMER derived their influence, conſequence, and power, from anarchy and confuſion. THEY could exiſt only in a ſtorm. The reſtoration of peace and tranquility muſt have reduced THEM to their original inſignificance; and as for the LATTER, rendered deſperate by diſappointed ambition, they would not heſitate to ruin their Country, to procure the fall of their rivals.

Such being the ſtate of opinions among the leaders of Faction on both ſides of the Atlantic, "reſiſtance by force became naturally the choice "of the Congreſs." To deceive an unhappy people, over whoſe minds they had eſtabliſhed a temporary dominion, they boaſt of "their perfect union, "and their great INTERNAL reſources; and that "foreign aſſiſtance is attainable." As to the firſt, we have no reaſon to give it implicit credit. The ſhew of unanimity, which now ſubſiſts in America, appears, from undoubted information, to be the effect of fear, more than any love for the deſperate cauſe of the rebels. Men of property are, from intereſt, enemies to confuſion; and the intelligent, foreſeeing the inevitable iſſue of hoſtilities againſt the invincible power of a mighty Empire, are averſe to a conteſt, that, on the ſide of the Americans,

Americans, muſt terminate in ruin. But BOTH are terrified into ſilence by the tyranny of a miſled rabble; or their STILL VOICE is drowned in the clamours of Faction and tumult of Party.

The INTERNAL RESOURCES of the Americans are as problematical, as their unanimity in rebellion. Conſiſt theſe mighty reſources in a wretched Paper-currency*, eſtabliſhed on no oſtenſible fund of credit; and voted by an illegal Aſſembly, whoſe authority is feeble, on account of its novelty, and tranſitory, as it ariſes from temporary prejudices? Should force, or even folly, ſtamp a domeſtic value on the *paſte-board* dollars of the Congreſs,

* Theſe PAPER-RESOURCES have been very liberally exerted by the Coloniſts, in the courſe of the year 1775. Beſides the ſums voted by the General Congreſs, the Provincial Congreſſes have granted large ſubſidies, for ſupporting their reſpective oppoſition to Great-Britain. By the moſt authentic accounts, the following Colonies have raiſed the ſums annexed to each.

	Currency.		Sterling.
Georgia - - - - - - - - -			£. 10,000
South Carolina,	£. 1,000,000	or	150,000
North Carolina - -	50,000	or	30,000
Virginia - - - -	350,000	or	280,000
Maryland - - - -	100,000		
Rhode-Iſland - - -	100,000	or	75,000

I have not been able to obtain any authentic Intelligence concerning the ſums raiſed in the other Colonies. I may venture, however, to affirm, that the rebellious Provinces have raiſed, in the courſe of this year, a ſum equal to the amonnt of their whole taxes (Provincial as well as Parliamentary) in SEVEN YEARS.

what

what foreign nation will receive them for its manufactures and commodities? Are the Americans themſelves capable of furniſhing all the great implements neceſſary for the proſecution of war? Can they ſupply their armies with tents, with powder, with cannon, or with muſquets? Is any one of theſe articles manufactured in a ſufficient quantity in America? And how can they be procured in Europe, with the wretched currency of the General Congreſs?

The Coloniſts, had not reaſon been warped by prejudice in every part of their conduct, might have foreſeen, that their commencing a war deprived them inſtantly of the reſources for carrying it on. Their whole Coaſt is lined, it is to be hoped, at this very moment, with our ſhips of war, to put a total ſtop to their Commerce. They have, therefore, loſt at one ſtroke their whole trade in Corn and Rice with Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean; which, at a moderate computation, brought annually One Million Five Hundred Thouſand Pounds to North America. They have loſt the ſupplying our own Weſt-India Iſlands, as well as thoſe of other nations, with proviſions; a branch of Commerce eſtimated little ſhort of a Million annually. They have loſt their Fiſhery,

Fiſhery, an article too great for computation; and they have loſt the exportation to Great-Britain of commodities which would not have anſwered in any other market, had the ſea remained open to their Navigation.

But if the Americans have little reaſon to depend on DOMESTIC RESOURCES, they have ſtill leſs to hope from FOREIGN AID. Will France, in the preſent ſtate of her finances, involve herſelf in a ruinous and expenſive war, to gratify the revenge of a Faction in this Country, or to favour the ambition of Demagogues beyond the Atlantic? Will Spain give her aſſiſtance to raiſe an INDEPENDENT EMPIRE in America? Will ſhe encourage her own American ſubjects to riſe againſt her authority, by abetting the rebellion of the American ſubjects of Great-Britain? Can either Branch of the Houſe of Bourbon be ſo blind to its own intereſt, as to wiſh to ſee a Sovereign State erected ſo near its ſettlements, which, from their proximity, their produce, and their wealth, muſt, in ſuch a caſe, become objects of invaſion, depredation, and conqueſt? What has either France or Spain to fear from THIS KINGDOM, whoſe intereſt conſiſts ſolely in preſerving what ſhe has already acquired? But have not BOTH every thing to fear, ſhould a

new

new Sovereignty ſtart up in America, in which a want of reſources would, in ſome degree, juſtify the providing itſelf at the expence of wealthy neighbours?

Having endeavoured to terrify Great-Britain with their DOMESTIC reſources and FOREIGN aids; the Congreſs thinking, perhaps, they had gone too far, conclude with aſſurances, that "they have "not YET determined to diſſolve their union with "the Mother-Country." But that UNION, it appears from the ſequel, muſt not be conſtrued into SUBORDINATION, on the part of the Americans. The general ſupremacy of the Legiſlature, which by pervading the whole Britiſh Empire renders it ONE State, muſt not, it ſeems, croſs the Atlantic, but in ſuch proportions as may ſuit the inclinations of the Congreſs. "THEY have taken "up arms," as they openly avow, "againſt that "Supremacy;" and "THEY will not lay them down "till hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe on the part of Great-"Britain." This is the Ultimatum offered by the Congreſs: Withdraw your armies, recal your fleets, and you may have peace from the Americans; for, as "they fight not for conqueſt," they do not YET mean to transfer hoſtilities into the heart of theſe kingdoms!

The haughty Monarch who dreamt of univerſal monarchy in the laſt century, could ſcarcely have expreſſed himſelf in more inſolent terms to the petty Princes ſurrounding his dominions, than the Congreſs have done to the powerful Empire to which they owe the allegiance of ſubjects. Some allowance ought to be made for THEIR ignorance, and a great deal for the petulance of men new to conſequence and authority; but, even in that caſe, the inſolence of the Declaration is calculated to raiſe indignation, as well as contempt. The Congreſs, however, are only the echoes of a deſperate Faction in this Kingdom, who have uniformly, in their public exhibitions, degraded the ſtrength, power, and authority of Great-Britain, to exalt America on the ruins. With an effrontery without example in any other age or nation, THESE MEN aſſume the name of Patriots, yet lay the honour, dignity, and reputation of their Country under the feet of her rebellious ſubjects. With a peculiar refinement on Parricide, they bind the hands of the MOTHER, while they plant a dagger in thoſe of the DAUGHTER, to ſtab her to the heart; and, to finiſh the horrid picture, they ſmile at the miſchief they have done, and look round to the ſpectators for applauſe.

It appears, upon the whole, that the Declaration, which ought to contain all the argument in favour of the Americans, contains, in fact, nothing that does not militate againſt their cauſe. The right of taxing all the ſubjects of the Empire, for the general ſupport of the State, is a part of that Supremacy which the firſt principles of the Conſtitution have veſted in the Britiſh Legiſlature. This Supremacy has been exerted by Parliament, and admitted by the Americans, ever ſince their anceſtors migrated from theſe kingdoms. If they now deny it, by that very act they ceaſe to be ſubjects, and become rebels. But granting, for the ſake of argument, that Taxation is no part of the ſupremacy of Parliament, the very conduct of the Americans not only juſtifies, but even renders it abſolutely neceſſary, that a precedent ſhould be made. They own, "that their internal "reſources are great." The inability of contributing to the neceſſities of a State, from whom they have derived their origin, their ſupport, their protection, and their proſperity, is no longer a pretence; and if they will give no Revenue as ſubjects, they owe a debt as allies. They affect to maintain armies by land. They threaten to ſend fleets to ſea. They alledge, that their reſources are capable of ſupporting a rebellion againſt the Mo-

ther-Country; yet they juſtify that rebellion by the demand made by the Mother-Country, for their bearing a part of their own FUTURE EXPENCES.

That the FORMER expences of America have drawn from Great-Britain an incredible treaſure, may be ſeen from the following authentic eſtimate. We ſhall begin this eſtimate with the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover to the Throne of theſe Kingdoms.

	£.	s.	d.
From the year 1714 to the year 1775, the money voted by Parliament, for the forces employed in defence of the Colonies, amounts to - - - -	8,779,925	3	11½
Grants in Parliament, for rewards, encouragement, and indemnification to the Americans, during the laſt war - -	1,081,771	11	9½
Bounties on American commodities to the end of 1774 - - - - -	1,609,345	3	9½
Sums granted to the Colonies, for the ſupport of their Civil Government and Provincial Forces - - - - -	3,835,900	7	4½
Extraordinary expences for forts, garriſons, ordnance ſtores, tranſports, carriages, proviſions, may be eſtimated equal to the expences of the forces -	8,779,925	3	11½
Expences of fleets and naval ſtations employed and eſtabliſhed in America for its defence may be eſtimated at -	10,000,000	00	00
Annual preſents to the American Indians, for abſtaining from hoſtilities againſt the Colonies, and for the ceſſion of lands, -	610,000	00	00
	34,697,142	10	10½

To

To this amazing ſum might be added, by implication, the other expences of the two laſt Wars. The FORMER of thoſe wars was undertaken for the protection of the American Commerce, or rather American SMUGGLING, to the Spaniſh Colonies. We entered into the LATTER for the defence of the Coloniſts; we carried it on for their ſecurity; and terminated it for their SOLE advantage. The two laſt Wars have coſt this Country, at a moderate computation, ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS. To this extraordinary waſte of treaſure, what have the Colonies to oppoſe to balance the account? Is it a languid Commerce, which ſcarcely makes its returns once in three years?

We have heard much (indeed, a great deal too much) of this Commerce from factious men on both ſides of the Atlantic. This is the mighty engine which they wield over the heads of the ignorant; the great bug-bear with which they terrify the timid. To eſtimate the value of the American trade with any degree of preciſion, is impoſſible. The accounts kept in the Cuſtom-houſe are no authorities. When exports pay no duty, a door is opened to falſe entries. The

vanity

vanity of ſome Merchants, the intereſt of others, too frequently induce them to magnify, beyond meaſure, the quantity of their export trade. Beſides, the mercantile abettors of American reſiſtance thought they ſerved the Colonies, whilſt they gratified their own private views. We may conclude, that the Commerce with North-America has been greatly over-rated, as the TOTAL LOSS of it has NOT affected this Kingdom. We ought, perhaps, to aſcribe to ITS INSIGNIFICANCE what we are taught to attribute to an INCREASE in other channels of trade.

Like all monopolies, the Commerce with North-America, ſuch as it has been, was much more profitable to the Merchant, than advantageous to the Manufacturer. One-third of this commerce with any State in Europe (from which the returns are annual) would have brought equal profit to the manufacturer, and would have enabled him to employ an equal number of hands. Political impoſtors will not fail to advance magnificent fictions on this head, and the ignorant cannot ceaſe to give them credit. On a ſubject where proofs are ſo difficult to be obtained, one may hazard a conjecture. The money expended by this Nation upon America,

for

for the PROTECTION of HER inhabitants and the ENCOURAGEMENT of HER Commerce, would have been more than ſufficient to purchaſe ALL the manufactures ever exported from Great-Britain to the Colonies now in rebellion. I mean not to include, in this conjectural eſtimate, any ſums expended by us in any OTHER part of the world during the two laſt (truly American) Wars.

The Americans, with a degree of folly ſcarce excuſeable in the moſt conſummate ignorance, claim a merit with Great-Britain, for the Revenue ariſing from impoſts laid upon ſome of their commodities, in THIS Kingdom. The chief of theſe are Rice and Tobacco. The Revenue ariſing from Rice is ſo inſignificant, that it ſcarce deſerves to be mentioned. It never amounted, at the higheſt computation, to ten thouſand pounds in any one year. Tobacco, when re-exported, pays no duty; and it is a matter of great doubt, whether the frauds committed in the drawbacks may not nearly balance the oſtenſible Revenue ariſing to the State from the home conſumption.

But

But, granting a great Revenue ſhould ariſe from Rice and Tobacco to the State, what favour do we owe to our Colonies on that head? That Revenue is paid by OURSELVES. The Tax is on the Conſumer, and not upon the Planter. Should Siberia ſupply us with Rice and Tobacco, the price would not probably be greater to the Conſumer, nor the Revenue leſs to the State. If the Americans claim any merit from thoſe Taxes, what do we NOT owe to the Emperor of China? The Revenue from Tea is much more conſiderable than that from Rice and Tobacco. A Congreſs at Pekin might accuſe us of ingratitude on this ſubject, with as much juſtice as the Aſſembly lately ſitting at Philadelphia.

It is evident, from the above ſtate of facts, that the Colonies have no claim to an exemption from Taxation, on account of any advantage that has accrued to this country from their commerce. But Taxation has now ceaſed to be any part of the diſpute. It goes to the whole authority of the Mother-Country. The Americans offer no longer the very name of Obedience. But why ſhould I ſpeak of Obedience? This VERY CONGRESS, whoſe Declaration is the ſubject of this diſquiſition, have paſſed

a VOTE

a VOTE OF INDEPENDENCE*. They have long acted as rebels, they NOW affect to contend as enemies. Their abettors in this Kingdom are no ſtrangers to this circumſtance; yet they dignify avowed rebellion with the title of "A GLORIOUS STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM."

Such is the conduct of the Americans, to which that of Great-Britain has all along formed a ſtriking contraſt. With the indulgence and patience of a Parent, ſhe ſoothed, flattered, and even courted them to a reconciliation. In pity to the weakneſs, in condeſcenſion to the folly, in conſideration to the prejudices of a froward child, ſhe held out the olive-branch, when ſhe ought, perhaps, to have ſtretched forth the rod of correction. Her pity, her

* When this Vote was carried, the Provinces ſtood as follows:

For Independence.	*Againſt it.*
Maſſachuſet's Bay	New York
Connecticut	New Jerſey
New-Hampſhire	Lower Counties
Pennſylvania	North Carolina
Virginia	Maryland.
South-Carolina	
Rhode-Iſland.	

This was the State of the Vote, on the firſt day. But, on the ſecond day, Mr. Dickenſon, AFTER REFLECTION ON HIS PILLOW, retracted, and carried off the Pennſylvania Delegates. There being then an equality of voices, the queſtion *went off*, for the time.

kindneſs, and affection, were loſt upon the Americans. They advanced rapidly from claim to claim, and conſtrued her forbearance into timidity. Each Act that was repealed furniſhed a ſubject for triumph, and not an object for gratitude. Each conceſſion became the foundation of ſome new demand, till, at length, by aſſuming all to themſelves by rebellion, they left the Mother-Country nothing to beſtow.

In this ſituation of affairs, Great-Britain muſt purſue one of two lines of conduct, with regard to her refractory Colonies. She muſt either put up with the loſs of ALL her expence, and emancipate them for ever, or reduce them to that ſtate of dependence which ſubjects owe to the ſupreme authority in every Empire. As the latter line muſt of neceſſity be purſued, it ought to be purſued with a mixture of ſpirit and prudence. To be in every reſpect in a condition to force equitable terms, is the beſt ſecurity for their being voluntarily offered. But ſhould terms be offered by the rebels, the RIGHTS of THIS COUNTRY muſt be more regarded in the accommodation, than the CLAIMS of AMERICA. To permit the Colonies to GAIN by one rebellion, is to ſow the ſeeds of another. But if the Colonies, as communities, are not permitted to *gain* by their refractory

conduct, I am far from wiſhing that individuals ſhould *loſe* any part of their rights as Britiſh ſubjects.

To propoſe a plan to the Americans, in their preſent political frenzy, would be to ſpeak to the winds. To make them *leſs* free than the other ſubjects of the State, can never be the *deſign* of this Country. To obtain *greater* privileges, can ſcarcely be their own *deſign*. If they are not madly bent on independence, let them propoſe the conditions on which they wiſh to continue ſubjects. But if they are to continue ſubjects, they muſt perform their duty as ſuch, and contribute toward the expence of the State, for the general protection. The Legiſlature of this Kingdom cannot poſſibly depart from any part of its ſupremacy over the Colonies; but it is in the power of the Colonies to ſhare in that ſupremacy. If they complain of being taxed without having the privilege of ſending Members to Parliament, let them be repreſented. Nay, more: Let their repreſentation increaſe in proportion to the Revenue they ſhall furniſh. If they wiſh rather to vote their QUOTA towards the general ſupply, through their own General Courts and Aſſemblies, the reſolution of Parliament on that ſubject is ſtill open to their choice.

But as long as they assume the language of a Sovereign State, this Kingdom can enter into no negociation, can meet no compromise. Nations, as well as individuals, have a character, a certain dignity, which they must preserve at the risque of their existence. Great-Britain has obeyed the dictates of humanity beyond the limits prescribed by her reputation. To tempt her further, is full of peril, as her indignation begins to rise. She has long had reason to complain of American ingratitude; and she will not bear longer with American injustice. The dangerous resentment of a great people is ready to burst forth. They already begin to ask, with vehemence, Is this the return we ought to expect from Colonies, whom with parental indulgence we have cherished in infancy, protected in youth, and reared to manhood? Have we spent in their cause so much treasure, and have they the ingratitude to refuse to bear a small portion of our burdens? Have we spilt so much of the blood of their enemies, and do they repay us by imbruing their hands in our own? The law of God and of Nature is on the side of an indulgent Parent, against an undutiful Child; and should necessary correction render him incapable of future offence, he has only his own obstinacy and folly to blame.

FINIS.

An ACCOUNT of MONEY Voted for the FORCES employed in the Defence of AMERICA since the ACCESSION of the FAMILY of HANOVER; distinguishing each YEAR.

	£.	s.	d.
1714 —	39,478	11	0
1715 —	34,742	14	2
1716 —	34,837	17	10½
1717 —	34,742	14	2
1718 —	40,283	15	11
1719 —	37,325	2	1
1720 —	37,423	1	10½
1721 —	40,396	9	7
1722 —	40,396	9	7
1723 —	40,396	9	7
1724 —	40,502	17	8
1725 —	40,396	9	7
1726 —	40,396	9	7
1727 —	40,396	9	7
1728 —	40,502	17	8
1729 —	40,396	9	7
1730 —	40,396	9	7
1731 —	40,396	9	7
1732 —	40,502	17	8
1733 —	40,396	9	7
1734 —	41,041	6	3
1735 —	52,754	15	5
1736 —	52,895	0	8
1737 —	52,754	15	5
1738 —	63,026	9	7
1739 —	65,106	19	7
1740 —	73,469	11	10½
1741 —	72,723	18	9
1742 —	74,627	8	9
1743 —	73,827	8	9
1744 —	81,595	19	8
	1,487,340	0	7½

	£.	s.	d.
1745 —	97,739	5	5
1746 —	97,038	7	11
1747 —	97,038	7	11
1748 —	97,277	2	6
1749 —	63,002	17	1
1750 —	81,059	14	2
1751 —	81,059	14	2
1752 —	78,838	18	7
1753 —	81,059	14	2
1754 —	81,059	14	2
1755 —	81,059	14	2
1756 —	142,813	15	7½
1757 —	249,854	1	3
1758 —	449,[illegible]94	4	7
1759 —	445,013	9	7
1760 —	482,797	8	6½
1761 —	583,892	18	9
1762 —	615,845	12	11
1763 —	310,317	0	8
1764 —	252,093	15	11½
1765 —	268,054	19	9½
1766 —	268,565	19	9½
1767 —	279,668	1	5½
1768 —	270,666	2	6½
1769 —	269,615	2	3½
1770 —	259,662	12	7½
1771 —	2[illegible],909	3	1½
1772 —	263,660	5	6½
1773 —	269,196	17	8½
1774 —	247,324	5	2½
1775 —	247,506	15	2½
	7,437,236	1	7

The

	£.	s.	d.
The Sums granted for the extraordinary Expences of the Army, Forts, Ordnance Stores, Tranſports, Carriages, Proviſions, are ſo much diſperſed through the Accounts of the various Offices, that it was found very difficult, if not impoſſible, to extract the particulars. The general Eſtimate is - - - - - - - - -	8,779,925	3	11¾
The ſame Obſervation may be made with regard to the Navy. The Expences of the Ships employed in North-America, are ſo much blended with the other Expences of the Navy, that it is impoſſible to ſeparate them. At the moſt moderate Computation they may be eſtimated at - - - - - - - -	10,000,000	0	0
Money laid out in Indian Preſents, in holding Congreſſes, and in purchaſing ceſſions of land, may be eſtimated at -	610,000	0	0

An Account of Bounties on American *Commodities.*

	£.	s.	d.
Bounty on Indico from 1749 to 1773 paid by Great Britain - - -	145,022	3	4½
Bounty on Hemp and Flax paid under the Act of 4 Geo. III. ch. 26. from 1766 to 1772 - - - - - - -	5,560	8	7¾
Bounty on Importation of Naval Stores from America, purſuant to the Act of the 3d of Queen Anne, from 1706 to 1729	430,178	4	6
Under the Act of 2d Geo. II. from 1729 to 1774 - - - - -	1,028,584	7	3
	1,609,345	3	9¼

Beſides other Bounties granted on
Raw Silk,
Pipe Staves
Hogſhead Staves,
Barrel Staves,
Pipe, Hogſhead, or Barrel-Heading

Total of Money laid out by Great-Britain on the Revolted Provinces, ſince the Acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover -	34,697,142	10	10½

ACTS

ACTS *eſtabliſhing the* SUPREMACY *of* PARLIAMENT *over* AMERICA.

1. By 12 Ch. II. ch. 18, anno 1660. Tobacco not to be tranſported from America, except to England, or Plantations belonging to his Majeſty, under the penalty of forfeiting ſhip and goods, &c.

2. By 15 Ch. II. No European goods to be imported into any of the Plantations, except on Engliſh-built ſhips, whereof the maſter and three-fourths of the men are Engliſh.---Duty laid on ſea-coals ſent to the Plantations, by the 10th ſection of ſaid Act.

By 22 and 23 Ch. II. Plantation goods not to be carried to Ireland, and penalties inflicted for unloading them, otherwiſe than in England.

3. By 25th Ch. II. The exportation of Plantation commodities farther reſtrained.

4. By 13 and 14 Ch. II. ſec. 12. Same reſtraints extend to Molaſſes and Rice.

By 7 and 8 Wm. III. ſec. 16. An Act for preventing Frauds, and regulating the Plantation-trade---Section 15 prohibits any body, claiming lands by Charter or Letters-patent on the Continent of America, from ſelling their property to any perſon, otherwiſe than natural-born ſubjects of England, Ireland, Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, without the conſent of his Majeſty, heirs, and ſucceſſors.

By 7 and 8 Wm. III. ſec. 6. Officers of Cuſtoms to have the ſame power in America, as in England.---Sec. 9 directs that all By-laws and Cuſtoms in America contrary to ſaid Act, or any other Act to be made in England, ſhall be void.

8 Geo. I. ch. 15. ſec. 24. Furs required to be brought from the Plantations to Great Britain.

5 G. II. ch. 7. Lands in the Plantations made liable to the payment of Debts.

5 G. II. ch. 22. Hats not to be exported from one Plantation to another.

13 Geo. II. ch. 7. Naturalizing all Foreigners, even Jews, who ſhall reſide ſeven years in the Colonies.

ACTS *complained of by the* AMERICANS. IN *Mr.* GRENVILLE'S *Adminiſtration.*

4 G. III. ch. 34. Paper Bills in the Plantations declared void.

UNDER *the Adminiſtration of Lord* ROCKINGHAM *and the Duke of* GRAFTON.

6. Geo. III. c. 2. The declaratory Act of the Supremacy of Great-Britain.

7 G. III. ch. 41. Cuſtoms and Duties in the Britiſh Colonies put under the management of the Commiſſioners reſiding there.

UNDER

UNDER *the Adminiſtration of Lord* CHATHAM *and the Duke of* GRAFTON.

7 Geo. III. c. 59. Suſpending all proceedings of the Council of New York, till proviſion be made for the Britiſh troops.

8 Geo. III. ch. 22. Act for more eaſy recovery of Penalties inflicted by the Acts relating to Trade, and the Revenues in the Plantations.

ACTS *of* PARLIAMENT *for impoſing Taxes on* America.

12 Ch. II. ch. 4. Tonnage and Poundage extended to all his Majeſty's Dominions, without exception.

25 Ch. II. ch. 7. ſec. 2. If Bonds are not given to land the goods imported from America, in England, &c. then ſeveral duties to be impoſed, collected under the direction of the Officers of the Cuſtoms in England.

9 Ann. ch. 10.—Poſt-Office.

9 Ann. ch. 27. Lays a duty on Prize goods carried to America.

3 Geo. II. ch. 28. ſec. 25. The Half-Subſidy to be paid on Rice from Carolina to Cape Finiſterre—8 Geo. II. ch. 19. The ſame extended to Georgia, and continued down by ſubſequent Acts.

6 Geo. II. ch. 13. Upon the Importation of Rum, Sugar, and Molaſſes into America, ſeveral duties to be paid.

ACTS *complained of by the* AMERICANS.

IN *Mr.* GRENVILLE'*s Adminiſtration.*

4 Geo. III. ch. 15. Certain Rates and Duties on foreign goods imported into the Colonies.

5 Geo. III. Poſtage of Letters.

IN *the Adminiſtration of Lord* CHATHAM *and the Duke of* GRAFTON.

6 Geo. III. ch. 52. Alterations made in the Act of the 4th of Geo. III.

7 Geo. III. ch. 46. Duties laid on the importation of certain goods imported into the Colonies.

UNDER *Lord* NORTH'*s Adminiſtration.*

10 Geo. III. The above Act repealed, except as to Tea.

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DECLARATION

BY THE

REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE

UNITED COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA,

NOW MET IN

GENERAL CONGRESS AT PHILADELPHIA,

SETTING FORTH

THE CAUSES AND NECESSITY OF THEIR TAKING UP ARMS.

IF it was poſſible for men who exerciſe their reaſon to believe, that the Divine Author of our exiſtence intended a part of the human race to hold an abſolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodneſs and wiſdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully reſiſtible, however ſevere and oppreſſive; the inhabitants of theſe Colonies might at leaſt require from the Parliament of Great Britain ſome evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common ſenſe, muſt convince all thoſe who reflect upon the ſubject, that Government was inſtituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be

administered for the attainment of that end. The Legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that Kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms.---Yet, however blinded that Assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expence of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labour, and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under Charters from the Crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the Colonies and the Kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm arose from this source; and the Minister who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war, publickly declared, that these Colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. ---Towards the conclusion of that war it pleased our Sovereign to make a change in his Councils.---From that fatal moment the affairs of the British Empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been

been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length diſtracted by the convulſions that now ſhake it to its deepeſt foundation. The new Miniſtry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet ſtill contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a haſty peace, and of then ſubduing her faithful friends.

Theſe devoted Colonies were judged to be in ſuch a ſtate, as to preſent victories without bloodſhed, and all the eaſy emoluments of ſtatuteable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and reſpectful behaviour from the beginning of Colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and uſeful ſervices during the war, tho' ſo recently and amply acknowledged in the moſt honourable manner by his Majeſty, by the late King, and by Parliament, could not ſave them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and aſſuming a new power over them, have, in the courſe of eleven years, given ſuch deciſive ſpecimens of the ſpirit and conſequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquieſcence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our conſent, tho' we have ever exerciſed an excluſive right to diſpoſe of our own property. Statutes have been paſſed for extending the juriſdiction of Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty beyond their antient limits, for depriving us of the accuſtomed and ineſtimable privilege of trial by Jury in caſes affecting both life and property; for ſuſpending the legiſlature of one of the Colonies; for interdicting all commerce of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government, eſtabliſhed by charter, and ſecured by Acts of its own Legiſlature ſolemnly confirmed by the Crown; for exempting the "Murderers" of Coloniſts from legal trial, and, in effect, from puniſhment; for erecting in a neighbouring Province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a deſpotiſm dangerous to our very exiſtence; and for quartering ſoldiers upon the Coloniſts in time of profound peace. It has alſo been reſolved in Parliament, that Coloniſts charged with committing

certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one Statute it is declared, that Parliament can "of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever." What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it, is chosen by us, or is subject to our controul or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws; and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the Throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament in the most mild and decent language. But Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A Congress of Delegates from the United Colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, on the 5th day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful Petition to the King, and also addressed our fellow-subjects of Great-Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow-subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. This we flattered ourselves was the ultimate step of the controversy; but the subsequent events have shewn, how vain is this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the Colonies were inserted in his Majesty's Speech. Our Petition, though we were told it was a decent one, that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his Parliament, was huddled into

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to both Houſes amongſt a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons in their Addreſs, in the month of February, ſaid, That "a rebellion at that time actually exiſted within the Province of Maſſachuſet's Bay; and that thoſe concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majeſty's ſubjects in ſeveral of the other Colonies; and therefore they beſought his Majeſty, that he would take the moſt effectual meaſures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the Supreme Legiſlature." Soon after the commercial intercourſe of whole Colonies, with foreign countries, and with each other, was cut off by an Act of Parliament; by another, ſeveral of them were entirely prohibited from the fiſheries in the ſeas near their coaſts, on which they always depended for their ſuſtenance; and large reinforcements of ſhips and troops were immediately ſent over to General Gage.

Fruitleſs were all the entreaties, arguments and eloquence of an illuſtrious band of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Peers and Commoners, who nobly and ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the juſtice of our cauſe, to ſtay or even to mitigate the heedleſs fury with which theſe accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitleſs was the interference of the City of London, of Briſtol, and many other reſpectable towns, in our favour. Parliament adopted an inſidious manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to eſtabliſh a perpetual auction of taxations, where Colony ſhould bid againſt Colony, all of them uninformed what ranſom ſhould redeem their lives, and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown ſums that ſhould be ſufficient to gratify, if poſſible to gratify, Miniſterial rapacity, with the miſerable indulgence left to us of raiſing in our own mode the preſcribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorſeleſs victors to conquered enemies? In our circumſtances, to accept them would be to deſerve them.

Soon after the intelligence of theſe proceedings arrived on this Continent, General Gage, who in the courſe of

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the laſt year had taken poſſeſſion of the town of Boſton, in the province of Maſſachuſet's-Bay, and ſtill occupied it as a garriſon, on the 19th day of April ſent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked aſſault on the inhabitants of the ſaid province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of perſons, ſome of whom were officers and ſoldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they ſet upon another party of the inhabitants of the ſame Province, killing ſeveral, and wounded more, until compelled to retreat by the country people ſuddenly aſſembled to repel this cruel aggreſſion. Hoſtilities thus commenced by the Britiſh troops, have been ſince proſecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boſton being confined within that town by the General their Governor, and having in order to procure their diſmiſſion entered into a treaty with him, it was ſtipulated that the ſaid inhabitants, having depoſited their arms with their own Magiſtrates, ſhould have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms; but in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even ſavage nations eſteem ſacred, the Governor ordered the arms depoſited as aforeſaid, that they might be preſerved for their owners, to be ſeized by a body of ſoldiers; detained the greateſt part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their moſt valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy wives are ſeparated from their huſbands, children from their parents, the aged and ſick from their relations and friends, who wiſh to attend and comfort them; and thoſe who have been uſed to live in plenty, and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable diſtreſs.

The General, further emulating his Miniſterial maſters, by a proclamation, bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the groſſeſt falſehoods and calumnies againſt the good people of theſe Colonies, proceeds

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to "declare them all, either by name or deſcription, to be rebels and traitors, to ſuperſede the courſe of the common law, and inſtead thereof to publiſh and order the uſe and exerciſe of the law martial."——His troops have butchered our countrymen; have wantonly burnt Charles Town, beſides a conſiderable number of houſes in other places; our ſhips and veſſels are ſeized; the neceſſary ſupplies of proviſions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmoſt power to ſpread deſtruction and devaſtation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, is inſtigating the people of that Province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reaſon to apprehend, that ſchemes have been formed to excite domeſtic enemies againſt us. In brief, a part of theſe Colonies now feels, and all of them are ſure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of Adminiſtration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, ſword and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of chuſing an unconditional ſubmiſſion to the tyranny of irritated Miniſters, or reſiſtance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the coſt of this conteſt, and find nothing ſo dreadful as voluntary ſlavery. Honour, juſtice and humanity, forbid us tamely to ſurrender that freedom which we received from our gallant anceſtors, and which our innocent poſterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of reſigning ſucceeding generations to that wretchedneſs which inevitably awaits them, if we baſely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cauſe is juſt: our union is perfect: our internal reſources are great, and if neceſſary, foreign aſſiſtance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as ſignal inſtances of Divine favour towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this ſevere controverſy, until we were grown up to our preſent ſtrength, had been previouſly exerciſed in warlike operations, and poſſeſſed of the means of defending ourſelves. With hearts fortified with theſe animating reflections, we moſt ſolemnly before God and the world declare, that, exerting the utmoſt energy of thoſe powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciouſly beſtowed upon us,

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the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

Lest this Declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them, that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independant states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation, or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, —and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the Supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to conduct us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the Empire from the calamities of civil war.

By Order of Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Attested,

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

Philadelphia, July 6, 1775.

Bdg. J/R.

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